

A HISTORY OF ACCESS OF DIVERSE STUDENTS
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER, 1964-2012

by

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Educational Leadership and Innovation

2013

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1964-2012

Thesis directed by Professor Dorothy Garrison-Wade.

ABSTRACT

Racial disparities have been, and continue to be, a major obstacle facing post-secondary educational institutions throughout the United States. In response to the call for institutional and external accountability by stakeholders interested in higher education, the aim of this dissertation is to provide an historical analysis of race and diversity at the University of Colorado Boulder (UCB). UCB was chosen as the focus for the current study because it is the flagship public university in the state of Colorado and is recognized as such by the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE). In order to relay the history of UCB accurately, a wide variety of sources are utilized, some published and others unpublished, including information obtained from the university's archives. Data collected in this study provide evidence of the lower college admission, retention, and graduation rates of minority (African American and Hispanic) students when compared to White and Asian students at the University of Colorado Boulder. Factors that contribute to the success of minority students on college campuses in general provide a starting point from which efforts being made to rectify the racial disparities present today at UCB can be assessed and analyzed in hopes of creating a campus environment to which minority students are attracted, admitted, retained, and graduated. As the higher education community of scholars continues to embrace the crucial role of diversity on college campuses and as the use of race-conscious educational policy continues to be threatened, this study highlights the role universities play in the larger

debate. As UCB has historically struggled to attract, retain, and graduate students of color, I expect that a thorough examination of the data included here will inspire educational stakeholders to find new ways to provide new opportunities for educational advancement for minorities and seek to erase all evidence of a racial achievement gap into the future.

The form and content of this abstract are approved. I recommend its publication.

Approved: Dorothy Garrison-Wade

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my amazing, outgoing, encouraging mother, Carolyn; my easygoing and quiet cheerleader dad, Larry; my energizing and inspiring nana, Lilly; my outspoken and persistent brother, Zach; my steady and supportive husband, Nick; my spit-fire, rambunctious, intelligent daughter, Keeley; and, baby Cozza #2 who has experienced the emotions undergone during this journey firsthand. My family has persisted in this journey with me throughout the past eight years during which time I have pursued my PhD. I would not be able to write this dedication today in the absence of their constant support, encouragement, and love. They each have inspired me to become a better granddaughter, daughter, sister, wife, mother, and student, never questioning whether or not I would endure and reach the end of this journey I've been on for much longer than any of us ever imagined.

To the students I have been lucky enough to work with throughout my career and those I've yet to meet, I thank you for pushing me to ask difficult questions and for sparking the desire to seek out the answers. To teachers and professors I've been lucky enough to learn from throughout my life, I thank you for instilling in me a love for knowledge and a belief in the importance and vital role of education. I hope to instill this same love for knowledge and belief in the power of education in my own students and children.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all of the members of my committee who have supported my work and pushed me to complete this dissertation; their patience and support is truly appreciated and will never be forgotten. I would especially like to acknowledge my adviser, Dr. Rodney Muth, who continued to support me during times when it seemed I would never finish this dissertation. This journey would not have been the same without the expertise and knowledge willingly shared with me by all of those serving on my committee.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

I. A HISTORY OF ACCESS OF DIVERSE STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER, 1964-2012	1
Research Goals.....	3
The Role of Race in Education	4
Race, Diversity, and Education.....	6
Critical Race Theory	7
Tenet 1	9
Tenet 2	9
Tenet 3	10
Tenet 4	11
Tenet 5	12
Conducting Historical Research and Understanding Historical Method.....	13
Sources of Historical Information.....	15
Archives	16
Profusion of Records.....	17
Establishing Facts	18
Method	19
Relevance of this Study	21
Why This Study?.....	22
Structure of Dissertation	25
II. A HISTORY OF RACE, DIVERSITY, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY	26
The Brown Decision: Overturning Precedent.....	28
The Civil Rights Movement and Race Conscious Educational Policy.....	30

Race and K-12 Education	33
<i>Green v. County School Board of New Kent County (1970)</i>	35
<i>Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971)</i>	36
<i>Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO (1973)</i>	38
Affirmative Action.....	40
Race and the Pursuit of Higher Education.....	43
Race Conscious Admissions and the Judicial System	45
<i>Brown v. Board of Education (1954)</i>	47
<i>Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)</i>	47
<i>Hopwood v. Texas (1996)</i>	48
<i>Texas v. LeSage (1997)</i>	49
<i>Gratz and Grutter v. Bollinger (2003)</i>	50
<i>Gratz and Grutter (2003) Decisions</i>	51
<i>Fisher v. Texas (not decided)</i>	53
Race-Based State Legislation	55
Beyond Affirmative Action	56
III. HISTORY OF RACE AND DIVERSITY IN COLORADO	61
The Territorial Days.....	63
Sand Creek.	63
Blacks.....	64
Asians.....	65
Other minorities.	65
The Klan Period	66
Racism during the Post-War Years	68
The Stranglehold of Racism in Colorado.....	69

Educating Coloradoans: A Deeper Look	71
Colorado Commission on Higher Education	76
CCHE Admissions Standards Policy (2011)	77
Policy on Affirmative Action.....	81
Race-Conscious Educational Policy in Colorado	84
IV. A BRIEF HISTORY OF RACE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO	
BOULDER.....	87
The Founding of a State Flagship University	88
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President George Norlin	91
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Ward Darley.....	93
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Quigg Newton.....	94
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Joseph R. Smiley.....	95
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Frederick Patrick Thieme....	101
Educational Opportunities Programs	102
Summer Tutorial Program	103
Migrant Action Program	104
Other Programs	104
Addressing the Needs of the Underrepresented.....	105
Creation of the Chancellors	107
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Roland Curt Rautenstrauss ...	108
Race, UCB, and Leadership from 1980 to the Present	109
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Arnold R. Weber.....	110
Race and UCB under the Leadership of President E. (Elwood) Gordon Gee	113
Building on the Past and Transforming the Future	114

V. THE IMPACT OF RACE AND DIVERSITY ON COLLEGE STUDENT SUCCESS	118
College Readiness and Academic Preparedness	119
Student Success Interventions.....	120
Tinto’s Attributes of Effective Classrooms	121
Expectations.....	122
Support.....	122
Assessment and feedback.	123
Involvement.	124
Astin’s Involvement Theory	124
Learning Communities.....	127
The Role of Faculty	128
Student Success at UCB.....	129
CU-LEAD Alliance	129
Pre-College Services	132
Disability Services	133
Upward Bound	134
SORCE.....	134
Assessing and Improving Learning Goals at UCB	135
Graduation and Retention Rates	137
VI. THE IMPACT OF RACE AND DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS CLIMATE.....	139
A Focus on Diversity: Starting at the Top	142
Campus Climate Surveys.....	144
Assessing Campus Climate.....	145
Campus Climate at UCB Today	147

Comparisons Over Time	150
Other Important Trends.....	151
Are Perceptions Accurate Reflections of Reality?.....	152
VII. RACE, DIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY, AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT....	155
State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.....	156
Characteristics of an Engaged Institution	159
Navigating the Rules of Engagement	161
Campus Compact.....	165
Community Engagement at UCB	168
Flagship 2030 and Community Engagement.....	170
VIII. MAKING THE CASE FOR DIVERSITY AND IMPLEMENTING AN ACTION PLAN	175
Making Campus Diversity Initiatives Work	178
Diversity Leaders at UCB.....	181
UCB Diversity Plans.....	183
The President’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity (2006)	186
Flagship 2030 Strategic Plan	192
Diversity at UCB through the 2000s.....	194
Beyond Diversity Plans: Initiatives and Programs at UCB	200
IX. OTHER FACTORS IMPACTING MINORITY SUCCESS	202
Practitioner and Researcher	203
Achievement Gap.....	204
High School Preparation	206
Measuring College Readiness.....	207
Standardized Testing.....	207

ACT ‘s College Readiness Benchmarks	210
Predicting College Success: More than a Test-Score	211
The Funding Equation.....	213
Federal Level	216
College Cost Reduction and Access Act.	217
Student Aid and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2009.....	217
State Level	218
TABOR.....	218
College Opportunity Fund.	219
School Level	220
X. RACE AND DIVERSITY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER AND HIGHER EDUCATION NATIONALLY	222
Racial Inequities in Education	225
Implications of <i>Fisher v. Texas</i>	226
Permanence of Racism in Colorado: Impact on Educational Opportunity	228
Permanence of Racism: Impact on the University of Colorado Boulder.....	230
Promoting Student Success Initiatives.....	234
The Impact of Campus Climate	237
Embracing Community Engagement Efforts.....	239
Creating a Diverse Campus	240
Expanding Educational Opportunity in Colorado for Underrepresented and Low-Income Students	243
Race Does Matter.....	246
History Leads to Insight.....	246
The Problem Continues.....	247
Hopes for Progress.....	247

Conscious, Concerted Efforts Essential	248
Next Steps and Future Research	249
APPENDIX	
A. CCHE Admissions Index	251
B. The Educational Pipeline in this Country	252
C. Blueprint for Action Key Points	253
D. 2006 Blue Ribbon Commission Committee Recommendations	264
E. Flagship 2030 Summary	265
REFERENCES	267

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

III.1. In-State, total, and UCB enrollment levels of racial/ethnic groups, 2004-2009	75
III.2. CCHE Colorado Public College/University Admission Index	79
III.3 Fall Enrollments by Institution, Student Level, Fall terms 2009-2011	83
V.1. CU-LEAD Alliance at a Glance	132
V.2. Graduation and one-year retention rates of full-time first-time freshmen at the original institution.	138
VIII. 1. Diversity at UCB, 1999-2009	196
X.1. Fall Census Headcounts by year, residency, and race/ethnicity	224

CHAPTER I

A HISTORY OF ACCESS OF DIVERSE STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER, 1964-2012

Today about half of students with dreams and aspirations on their future receipt of an earned certificate or degree leave with that dream either stalled or ended. Access and completion rates for African American, Hispanic, and Native American students have always lagged behind White and Asian students, as have those for low-income students and students with disabilities. Although postsecondary enrollment rates for students of color are at levels similar to White and Asian students, access to four-year colleges, especially our nation's most selective institutions, remains inequitable. Beyond access, students of color have not earned degrees at the same rates as other students. (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003, p. v)

Education is crucial and impacts both society and individuals as those individuals who complete higher levels of education earn higher incomes and exhibit lower rates of unemployment (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010; Swail et al., 2003). Even so, higher education in the United States continues to be plagued by debates over race, diversity, and the use of educational policies, such as affirmative action, to provide students of color access to, and ultimately success in, postsecondary institutions. Equal access continues to be a problem in higher education, whether because of admissions or other policies that guide higher-education practices or because of the insufficiency of elementary-and secondary-school preparation of minority students for higher education (Bok & Bowen, 1998; Kozol, 2005). Nevertheless, the success rates of students of color who do gain access to the system of higher education also are problematic: In 2003, “only 46 percent of African Americans and 47 percent of Hispanics . . . actually completed a bachelor's degree within six years, compared to 67 percent of Whites and 72 percent of Asians” (Swail et al., 2003, p. vii).

The reality and plight of minority students across the United States is both disheartening and unacceptable to educational stakeholders (Harper, 2006; Swail et al., 2003). How is it possible that nearly fifty years after the civil rights movement began and monumental legal gains were made by minorities who had been discriminated against for centuries, equality and equity are yet to be achieved? As a vital platform upon which our country builds its future, institutions of education appear to have maintained the status quo, contradicting the ideal role of educational institutions as described by Harper (2006): “Public universities can and should uphold the social contract by offering equitable access and distributing resources to ensure success among diverse groups of American citizens” (p. vii).

In his study, Harper (2006) examined the number of Black male students enrolled at flagship universities across the United States. His findings suggest the fifty public institutions of higher education, designated as flagship universities in each state, are not upholding the social contract, and fall short in their role of serving Black male students. To illustrate the predicament facing Black male students across the state of Colorado, Harper (2006) examined data from Colorado’s flagship university, The University of Colorado Boulder: In 2000, 250 Black males were enrolled at the university, representing .9% of the undergraduate population while comprising 2.2% of the state’s total Black, male, college-aged student population (Harper, 2006). As Swail et al. (2003) discuss, beyond access and admission, differences in six-year graduation rates were also found across racial and gender groups at the University of Colorado Boulder with 47.2 % of Black males, 67.5% of White males, and 63.9% of Black females graduating within six years of enrolling. As these statistics demonstrate, racial disparities have been, and

continue to be, a major obstacle facing post-secondary institutions and a need exists for “institutional and external accountability” as colleges and universities strive to resolve these issues (Harper, 2006, p. 11).

In response to the call for institutional and external accountability, the aim of the current study is to provide an historical analysis of the access of diverse students to the University of Colorado Boulder (UCB). UCB was chosen as the focus for this study because it is known as the flagship public university in the state of Colorado and is recognized as such by the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE). Among other duties, the eleven commissioners serving on the CCHE are responsible for determining institutional roles and missions, as well as establishing statewide enrollment policies and admission standards for the thirteen public, four-year universities, across the state (Colorado Department of Education, 2010). In their CCHE Admissions Standards Policy (2010), UCB is described as “a comprehensive graduate research university with selective admission standards.” UCB is second in public admissions selectivity in the state of Colorado, after the specialized and selective engineering school, the Colorado School of Mines (CCHE, 2010).

Research Goals

The research goals for this study are to examine race, diversity, and relevant educational policies utilizing a historical perspective to gain a deeper understanding of the historical and present-day issues surrounding minority student access to the University of Colorado Boulder. As a result, interested parties and educational stakeholders should gain a better understanding and appreciation for the development and evolution of the university in light of the complex issues surrounding race. Further, my

study should contribute to the expanding field of research on race, diversity, and the role of educational policy in higher education as educational stakeholders make efforts to improve and ensure equal and equitable access to post-secondary institutions across the country for all racial minority group members.

In the state of Colorado, UCB is the premier, public higher education institution and as such, its policies and performance relative to state mandates on diversity set the tone for the state. Thus, my primary research question is, “What is the history of access of minority students to the University of Colorado Boulder?” Second, I ask “How have questions about race, diversity, and the development of relevant educational policies affected minority student access at UCB since the beginning of court-ordered desegregation of schools mandated by *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 through the present day?” As a historical policy study, my dissertation focuses on a problem that has “drawn considerable political attention, and . . . seeks a higher utility of results to generate greater understanding of policy issues, actions, and impacts in resolving social problems” (Heck, 2004, p. 186).

The Role of Race in Education

The role of race in education has drawn political attention since the *Brown* decision in 1954, and has raged on since the introduction of race-conscious educational policies, such as affirmative action, enacted to transform educational and economic opportunities for historically underrepresented students. As this historical debate rages on in the political arena (Brown & Hirschman, 2006; Card & Krueger, 2005; Moses, Yun, & Marin, 2009; Tierney, 1996), understanding the history and impact of these issues continues to be crucial to all stakeholders. A complete understanding of the debate

requires that issues with race be considered in light of the history surrounding their significance and reveal the kind of actions that have been taken to resolve a multitude of issues with which race has, and continues to be, associated. This study draws upon the past and aims to depict a modern portrayal of student diversity at UCB which is representative of the more recent issues facing the system of higher education that have plagued American society for decades (Tierney, 1996).

As a significant policy issue utilized to address the role of race in the history of social and educational institutions in the United States, the development, implementation, and impact of race-conscious educational policies in higher education has spanned decades as disparities across racial groups have continued to surface in the educational arena (Allen, Teranishi, Dinwiddie, & Gonzalez, 2000; Kozol, 2005; Tierney, 1996). In policy research, the passage of time proves to be a critical aspect that guides research design. Heck (2004), for one, discusses the role of time, suggesting that “temporal issues and the observation of change are . . . central to research on educational policy. Policy is developed, is implemented, and produces impact over a considerable period of time” (p. 188). Thus, my study focuses upon temporal issues as I examine the development, implementation, and impact of race, diversity, and relevant educational policies implemented from the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 to 2012. Through an in-depth historical analysis, I examine how policies related to race and diversity at UCB, in the state of Colorado, and across the country have been created, implemented, and changed over time as determined by court decisions, legislation, and administrative policy making, and how these policies have proven effective or have failed during the past five decades.

Race, Diversity, and Education

Issues surrounding race and diversity have been, and continue to be, salient factors in our society and are the focus of much debate and research, particularly within the field of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Marx, 2004). Examining the role of race and racism in education has a long history, with the courts playing a crucial role in many instances (e.g., *Brown*, 1954; *Baake*, 1978; *Hopwood*, 1996; *Gratz and Grutter*, 2003) to determine what constitutes equal and equitable educational opportunities for majority and minority groups. In 1954, the court ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education* ended the practice of “de jure school segregation (imposed by the law), but regrettably it did not end de facto school segregation (separation that exists “in fact,” but is not imposed by law)” (Valverde, 2004, p. 368). Throughout our country’s history, race has mattered in education and race is still the focus of research and educational policies into the present day.

Several researchers suggest that schools today, once under desegregation orders, are being re-segregated with minority students becoming more isolated from the majority, White, population (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; Kozol, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Parker, 1998). This trend is worrisome as research reveals that students attending desegregated schools do not necessarily fare better than their segregated peers, as evidence of ability grouping and tracking of lower-income and minority students at disproportionate rates surface as common problems across the K-12 system (Chang, Witt-Sandis, Hakuta, 1999). High school graduation rates for members of minority groups, particularly Blacks and Latinos, continue to lag behind the graduation rates of their White and Asian peers

(Lee, 2002). Racial differences can also be found in test scores, college application and acceptance rates, percentages of students taking remedial classes in college, and college graduation rates (Perna, 2000). Clearly, race continues to plague educators, educational stakeholders, and the education system as a whole.

Exploring issues associated with racism in educational settings such as unfair discipline policies, the marginalization of students of color, and the low high school and college success rates of minority students are ways the continued existence of both overt and covert racism have been examined. Given its permanent nature, race and diversity, or its lack, in higher education is an issue that continues to surface as one focus of the educational debate about social justice in this country; the debate itself is another example of the presence of racism in higher educational settings. The permanence of racism forces the majority culture to recognize that “racist hierarchical structures govern all political, economic and social domains” (DeCuir & Dixson, 2000, p. 27). The permanence of racism within educational settings is highlighted in research across the domains of academia (DeCuir & Dixson, 2000; Donnor, 2005; Duncan, 2002; Hatchell, 2004). Critical race theorists, in particular, have conducted a great deal of research highlighting the permanence of race in education.

Critical Race Theory

The first article that I read about Critical Race Theory was “Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education” by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995). Though I was unfamiliar with these authors, I was vaguely familiar with critical theory having read Freire (1970, 1993) and works written about racial inequalities encountered in education by Kozol (2005). As I read this article, I was immediately engrossed and recognized the power

such a theory could hold for me, my colleagues, and my students in our work to transform our educational system, and to ensure all students have equal and equitable opportunity to succeed and excel. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) discuss the continued existence of race and disparities in education revolving around racial identity. The intent of the authors in writing the article was to create a theory of race, to develop an analytical tool to enhance understanding of school inequities, and to propose an alternative lens through which the minority student achievement gap could be examined and explained.

Critical race theory of education is based upon the use of critical race theory by legal scholars, and its scope is both wide and deep. As described by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), critical race theory is based upon three central propositions: “1) Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States; 2) U.S. society is based on property rights; and 3) The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity” (p. 48).

Utilizing these three propositions, a conceptual framework composed of five central tenets is central to critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The purpose of the framework created and used by critical race theorists in education is to have a platform from which it is possible to “expose racism in education and propose radical solutions for addressing it” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005, p. 23). The five central tenets encompassed within the critical race theory (CRT) framework are described in further detail here (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Tenet 1

Counter storytelling is a main feature of the CRT framework and is utilized in many qualitative research studies conducted within the field of education (Duncan, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Love, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). The purpose of counter storytelling is to give a voice to groups of individuals that have historically been silenced because of institutionalized racism (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998). In essence, counter storytelling is a device used to create and tell a narrative that is different and may oppose a “mainstream”, White narrative.

Tenet 2

As the second tenet of the CRT framework, the permanence of racism forces the majority culture to recognize, “racist hierarchical structures govern all political, economic and social domains” (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27). Much of the research conducted utilizing the CRT framework provides examples of the permanence of racism, particularly within educational settings (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Donnor, 2005; Duncan, 2002). Exploring issues associated with racism in educational settings such as unfair discipline policies, the marginalization of students of color, and low graduation and success rates of minority students across all levels of our educational system is one way through which both overt and covert racism can be exposed. Through my work as a school counselor, I am in an advantageous position to draw attention to inequities in school policies, and to provide students with opportunities to succeed within our school system. Recognizing the role that racism plays in society and in our schools is essential for transforming the futures of all students.

Tenet 3

The third tenet of the CRT framework, Whiteness as property, is based largely upon the work of a legal scholar (i.e. Harris) who utilizes the CRT framework (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004). As stated by DeCuir and Dixon, “according to Harris, property functions on three levels: the right of possession, the right to use, and the right to disposition” (p. 28). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) further argue that “race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States; US society is based on property rights; the intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity” (p. 48). They also explain the connection between property and Whiteness, as the United States is a capitalist economy dependent upon a system of inequality. Whites continue to control the levers of the economy and as a result Whiteness is maintained as a determinant of status, privilege and power.

In the 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement focused upon rectifying individual rights, thus leaving minorities behind in terms of property rights. Perhaps more poignant in today’s economy, property rights influence the funding of schools, as those individuals who own better property also generally attend better schools (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Kozol, 2005; Anyon, 2005). Whiteness as property can also be extended to include ‘intellectual’ property. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) discuss the variation of curriculum depending upon where schools are located and the ethnic and racial make-up of students attending those schools. Again, those individuals who own better property have historically been entitled to better curriculum. Thus, due to the historical and current impact of the US economy in education and the central role property rights play, Whites

are generally have access to the best neighborhoods, the best schools, the best classes, and ultimately the best colleges (Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002, 2004). As a tenet of CRT, Whiteness must be recognized as a privilege that maintains the status quo.

Tenet 4

Interest convergence calls attention to the Civil Rights Movement and legal victories, such as that of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and questions the effectiveness of the gains fought for by minorities throughout history (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; Bell, 1980). Chapman (2005) and Bell (1980) discuss the *Brown* decision which came at a time in our country's history when America needed to put her best foot forward to expand global interests with European countries and to win the fight against communism. The Supreme Court's decision made in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) is an example of the interest convergence principle, in that the majority, White, culture of the United States suffered little to no consequences in granting minority students access to White schools, while minorities evidently made few gains. DeCuir and Dixon (2004) suggest, "Given the vast disparities between elite Whites and most communities of color, gains that coincide with the self-interests of White elites are not likely to make a substantive difference in the lives of people of color" (p. 28). Another example of the interest-convergence principle can be illustrated as minority students are often granted access to college based upon their athletic abilities, but comparatively few leave their respective colleges and universities with a degree. Colleges and universities gain financially as they attract spectators to major athletic events, but unless they graduate, the athletes gain little in retrospect (Donnor, 2005).

Tenet 5

The last tenet of the critical race theory framework engages discussion surrounding the idea of liberalism, which focuses upon the notion of “colorblindness,” the neutrality of the legal system, and incremental changes in race relations within the United States (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Though colorblindness outwardly appears to be a worthy ideal, ultimately the salience of race in all aspects of our society cannot be denied and race cannot be ignored. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) reiterate, “Adopting a colorblind ideology does not eliminate the possibility that racism and racist acts will persist.” (p. 29) Furthermore, the concept of equity in lieu of actual equality is a cornerstone of the discussion concerning race neutral policies as it is necessary to recognize that minority individuals, in general and made evident throughout history, have not and do not have the same opportunities and experiences as Whites.

The Lens of Critical Race Theory

As described, critical race theory examines the role of the incremental changes that have taken place throughout history to rectify racist practices in various aspects of our social, economic, legal, and school systems. The slow pace of change in regard to the role of race in the US system of education, even while backed by the judicial system, has continued to the dissatisfaction of minority and other groups, but to the satisfaction of those “less likely to be directly affected by oppressive and marginalizing conditions” (DeCuir & Dixson, p. 29). Though the Civil Rights Movement spurred change as it gained steam in the late 1960s, after the desegregation of schools was ordered in 1954, the current minority student achievement gap in education provides evidence that little progress has been made in regards to improving race relations in United States.

In this study, a discussion of critical race theory is included because it has provided a lens that informs my work, both as a professional counselor in my everyday career and as a researcher as I hoped to gain a better understanding of the history of diverse student access at the University of Colorado Boulder, the state of Colorado's flagship university. Though CRT is both a theoretical framework and a method of analysis utilized in research, in this study the framework was utilized as a filter through which I was able to examine and think about issues related to the history of access of diverse students on UCB's campus. It is important to note that though it may be possible to utilize the framework to expand this research in the future, critical race theory was not used as the theoretical framework that drove my research in this dissertation; historical method is the framework utilized in this study to begin an informed discussion of the history of diverse student access at UCB.

Conducting Historical Research and Understanding Historical Method

As a historical policy analysis, it is important to establish the use of historical method and historical research as a valid research process utilized in my study. Challenges posed to the historical discipline have forced those writing history to expand the historical field to include a variety of perspectives. These perspectives may support or contradict one another, but Tosh (2006) explains that "real empowerment comes from writing history which carries conviction beyond one's own community, and this means conforming to the scholarly procedures which historians of all communities respect" (p. 204). Thus, it is imperative to understand appropriate historical scholarly procedures. First and foremost, historians rely heavily upon sources, both primary and secondary, from which information is sought to bring historical perspectives into being.

Evans (1999) acknowledges, in light of the modern challenges facing the historical discipline, that “the distinction between primary and secondary sources on the whole has survived the withering theoretical hail. The past does speak through the sources and is recoverable through them” (p. 108). Historians may interpret sources differently, but the sources alone have been “written in the past, by living people, for their own purposes” (Evans, 1999, p. 108). He further contends it is vital to understand the difference between historical theory and historical method as part of the scholarly procedure; accordingly, Evans clarifies that the “historical method is based on the rules of verification laid down by Ranke and elaborated in numerous ways since his time” (p. 109). Ranke, the founder of “historicism”, was a history professor at Berlin University from 1824 to 1872, who emphasized that in order to show things as they actually were, “historical knowledge [should be] based on research into ‘records’” (Tosh, 2006, p. 68). No matter what perspective or theoretical background a historian applies to interpret the sources, historical method is utilized in a similar fashion by all.

Iggers (1997), like Evans (1999), also establishes the vital role of historical method and scholarly inquiry. He suggests that, though the challenges posed to the discipline have led to a variety of approaches to writing history, and scholarship has been seen to improve in the field, “historians have not given up the basic commitment to historical inquiry that inspired Ranke and his colleagues” (Iggers, 1997, p. 144). Aware of the challenges posed by postmodernists, among others, historians today have become more aware of the biases they bring to their writings and the impact of bias on objectivity. This awareness differs from the Rankean tradition which was deemed to be more scientific in its nature. As Evans draws upon the role of sources, Iggers agrees “the

historian is still bound by his or her sources, and the critical apparatus with which he or she approaches them remains in many ways the same . . . we view these sources more cautiously” (p. 144).

Tosh (2006) also writes extensively of historical method and the crucial role of sources, whether primary or secondary, in the work of those writing history of any kind. Tosh notes that “the study of history has nearly always been based squarely on what the historian can read in documents or hear from informants . . . the emphasis has fallen almost exclusively on the written word” (p. 58). Writing for a broad and novice audience, Tosh goes into great detail to describe primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are described as the original sources and raw materials, “evidence contemporary with the event or thought to which it refers” (p. 61). Secondary sources include everything that has been written about the past by historians or others who were not present at the time an event took place. Primary and secondary sources can overlap and “some sources are more primary than others” (p. 61).

In the current study, I use a variety of primary and secondary sources, described in further detail in the method section, to conduct a thorough historical analysis of the access of diverse students to UCB.

Sources of Historical Information

Beyond establishing the primary and secondary status of sources historians use to guide their work, sources are also classified in terms of published versus unpublished (Tosh, 2006). Published sources generally refer to those that have been printed while unpublished sources refer to those that are not published or readily available to be perused by anyone and everyone (Tosh, 2006). Authorship is also important to Tosh as he

draws a distinction between sources produced by governments and those produced by corporations, associations, or private individuals. Though it is important for historians to pay attention to what types of sources they are using to guide their work, the sources deemed to “carry the most weight are the ones that arise directly from everyday business or social intercourse, leaving open the task of interpretation” (p. 62). Often, these types of casual intercourse are unpublished and historians may have to “go behind the published word . . . the greatest advances in modern historical knowledge have been based on research into records-confidential documents such as letters, minutes and diaries” (p. 68). These types of sources can be found in numerous places, and may be maintained in archives.

Archives

Paying heed to the importance of maintaining historical sources, the role of archives in preserving documents from the past proves essential (Tosh, 2006). As Tosh notes, archives are a more “recent development and the survival of documents from the remote past has often owed more to luck than good management” (p. 78). Given the fragile nature of documents maintained in an archive, it is no surprise that such documents can fall victim to a variety of accidents or can be destroyed on purpose. Archives are maintained on a variety of levels-government, state, county, at libraries and universities, and the list goes on. Archives can play an important role in maintaining sources that will prove useful to historians, yet it is essential to recognize the limits of documents maintained in the archives (Tosh, 2006).

Incomplete and Tainted Record

One of the major limitations to the usefulness of primary sources, and archival documents in particular, is that the records available are likely incomplete (Tosh, 2006). Tosh reiterates that some sources have disappeared by accident or have been tainted or destroyed on purpose, but the record is also incomplete because “a great deal that happened left no trace material whatever” (p. 178). Historical records are also not necessarily all-inclusive and “the historical record is forever rigged in favour of the ruling class, which at all times has created the vast majority of the surviving sources” (Tosh, 2006, p. 178). In light of these criticisms, Tosh feels confident that if historians follow the critical method of analyzing the documents appropriately and unveiling the bias contained within, meaning can still be extracted from the documents.

Profusion of Records

Upon establishing the unlikely reality of historians encountering a complete and untainted record to guide their work, another difficulty facing historians is that source documents exist in often unmanageable quantities (Tosh, 2006). Given the evolution of history through the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, this problem becomes ever larger as greater quantities of records and documents become available. Tosh suggests that historians once believed they had exhausted the evidence available to them in conducting their work and no new evidence would ever exist; yet, today historians are “faced with the virtually limitless content that history can embrace” (p. 180). Taking this situation into consideration, historians are ever more “compelled to subject the notion of historical fact to severe scrutiny” (Tosh, 2006, p. 180).

Establishing Facts

Much of the debate about the role of establishing history as a discipline that can be deemed as both truthful and objective seems to revolve around the ability of historians to establish the factual nature of their work. The difficulty, as described previously, is that “most of what pass for the facts of history actually depends on inference” (Tosh, 2006, p. 180). Often, historians cannot necessarily prove their facts by conducting a scientific experiment. However, historians work to ensure the validity of their perspectives which are based upon the deductions they make from the multiple sources that they select to use in their analyses: “the facts of history can be said to rest on inferences whose validity is widely accepted by expert opinion” (Tosh, 2006, p. 180). Though facts are not chosen haphazardly by historians, it is imperative to recognize “the facts are not given, they are selected” (Tosh, 2006, p. 181).

Thus, we are led back to the debate posed by postmodern theorists regarding the inability of historians to express truth and objectivity through their work. Historians do select which facts, sources, documents, and perspectives to include in their work yet “all observation whether of the natural or the human world is selective” (Tosh, p. 183). It is important to move beyond the debates which can be anticipated at every turn and appreciate the contributions historians make to expand the field of knowledge. Tosh (2006) recalls the words of Connell-Smith and Lloyd to end this eternal debate: “History is not the past, nor yet the surviving past. It is a reconstruction of certain parts of the past (from surviving evidence) which in some way have had relevance for the present circumstances of the historian who reconstructed them” (p. 191).

Method

Due to the nature of this dissertation, the research questions that I ask required me to utilize a historical approach in order to identify how diverse student access at the University of Colorado at Boulder has changed over time as the development of relevant educational policies, both local and national, have been introduced with the goal of opening the doors of opportunity to include historically underrepresented groups of students. Therefore, this study relies upon a wide variety of sources that were described in the previous section; the majority of sources I used were published and others were unpublished, some primary and others secondary. Oftentimes, when not known, authorship may be presumed in many cases, but authors of some sources included in this study are unknown and identified as such when encountered and cited.

Historical research requires an individual to uncover records from the past to answer questions posed in the modern day. My research into records first led me to the archive library at the University of Colorado Boulder to look for documents that would be relevant to my study and to help me answer the questions I posed. After getting permission to access the university archives, I began my search for relevant documents and sources by focusing upon a few different search terms including, (a) Diversity; (b) Affirmative Action; and (c) Minority Students. By focusing upon these search terms, I was able to include primary sources in my study drawn from three different collections found in the university archives: (a) Correspondence files; (b) Executive Vice President of the University of Colorado; and, (c) Central Administration Vice President for Student Affairs.

As one may anticipate, given the nature of historical research and the timeframe that I chose to utilize in this study, I found many more documents than I could thoroughly and thoughtfully include in this study. In my research, as I encountered a profusion of records, it was necessary for me to eliminate many records and archival documents, yet I recognize that due to the enormous amount of material available today, this study has room to expand into the future as more documents are analyzed and included. It is also necessary to recognize that though the focus of my study is upon unveiling the history of diverse student access to the University of Colorado Boulder, records maintained in the archives are incomplete and tainted. As discussed previously, sometimes records and documents are destroyed or thrown out on purpose, and on the other hand it is nearly impossible to document the daily happenings of every individual and every event happening everywhere on any given day.

In the modern day and because of its widespread availability, a variety of documents analyzed and included in this study have been collected from Websites, generally the University of Colorado Boulder Website as well as local news outlets, and are accessible to any member of the public. Given the nature of historical research and the development of technological advancements now utilized to store documents and disseminate information to the public, as described previously the profusion of records is one of the obstacles that I faced in conducting my historical study of diverse student access to UCB. For example, hundreds of newspaper articles from Boulder's *Daily Camera*, *The Denver Post*, *The Rocky Mountain News*, as well as the University's *Silver and Gold Record* were readily available to add to my research. Many of the documents included in this study are lengthy and detailed; though I have worked to analyze the data

and documents objectively, I must confess that my personal biases and belief that the permanence of racism has had lasting negative effects upon institutions of education and today flavor the tone and perspective of my research. To reiterate, “the facts are not given, they are selected” as historians choose how to reconstruct the past to expand the field of knowledge into the future (Tosh, 2006, p. 181).

Given the sensitive, controversial, and political nature of the topic I consider in my research, the records that I did include in my study should not be believed to represent the whole story of a history of diverse student access at UCB. One may anticipate that only majority views were documented and preserved throughout the university’s history, and though the focus of the current study is upon diverse student access, the views of historically underrepresented minorities on campus were not necessarily maintained in the university’s archives. In other words, the documentary record maintained by the university represents the university’s official point of view. Some sources of information, generally newspaper articles from the *Daily Camera*, *Rocky Mountain News*, and *The Denver Post*, did document other perspectives and were included in the research when possible. However, I acknowledge that documents included in this dissertation were chosen by me, the researcher, to include because they proved useful in helping me find answers to the questions I posed and to tell one version of a story of the history of diverse student access to the University of Colorado Boulder.

Relevance of this Study

As an educator, issues associated with racial disparities continue to make their way to the forefront of conversations held both inside and outside of my professional work on a regular if not daily, basis. In my current school district, discussions concerning

race and the ever-present achievement gap continue as a top priority. As a member of the staff and as a true proponent of diversity, I attempt to engage in conversations with colleagues, parents, students, and other members of our community to derive potential solutions to the inherent and complex reality of disparate achievement and graduation rates. My goal as a counselor is to promote the growth and development of each of my students, revealing to them through our discussions, difficult or not, that opportunities abound. Of course, my hope is that for each of my students, opportunities truly are abundant; my experiences have proven otherwise but I am not willing to accept this reality as permanent just yet. Surely, there must be something I can do.

Upon graduating from college and a year later during my Master's program in counseling, I immediately began working with a minority population of high school students as the English Language Acquisition-Spanish Speaking counselor. Though I do not remember having deep discussions concerning the goal of our school or district at the time (2002) to prepare our students for a bright future, I believe I worked toward this end anyway. This work included helping diverse students explore and access college opportunities. Today, specific conversations and clear goals concerning the achievement gap, and the disparate graduation rate of our historically underrepresented student groups take place regularly in my school and across the school district. The reality posed by the frequency of these conversations provides evidence that race continues to matter in education.

Why This Study?

I have asked myself this question many times. Surely, another topic must exist about which I could write extensively and complete in a timely fashion to earn my

doctorate degree. Yet, I chose this topic because I am truly interested in the subject of race and education. Through my work as a high school counselor for the past eleven years, I have worked with thousands of students who have graduated from high school and have made plans to venture into the great, big world. The story each of these students has to tell varies; some are similar in nature and some are very different, yet each is unique because the story each of these students has to tell is theirs alone. With the great invention of Facebook, several of my past students have reached out to me to tell me where their life's journey has led them.

As I began my career working with a large Hispanic population, many of my students who graduated from high school found limited resources and opportunities available to them to fulfill their goals and aspirations. I watched and stood by as a helpless observer as students who had earned considerably high GPAs throughout high school and had plans to become architects, doctors, nurses, and teachers, were unable to continue their education, or struggled to balance the demands of culture, family, and everyday life with their desire to attend school and improve their personal and family lives into the future. I also watched as some of my students struggled throughout high school, some wary of education altogether and others who were forced to care more deeply about meeting their basic, every day needs. Yet, as a believer in the education system and in the US, never did I or anyone else I have worked with, give up on any of these students. These students were pushed to be the best they could be, yet it seems the system still failed them.

As I moved on in my career as a high school counselor, I witnessed the success of the majority of my students and the tragedies faced by a few. The population of students I

work with has also changed throughout the years, and over time, common trends have emerged. My experiences have led me to understand the achievement gap does still exist and racial disparities are commonplace. Though the issue is truly more complex than I acknowledge here, I came to “know” certain students would be successful regardless of our interactions, while others would struggle. I learned certain students would excel and enjoy an abundance of opportunities and others would be “lucky” just to graduate from high school. Perhaps what I have always known and recognized as I worked with thousands of students is that race does matter.

As a White woman with good intentions, I could not deny the truth that I found in the numbers when I finally looked at them. The numbers revealed that my minority (Hispanic and Black) students were not achieving at the same rates as my majority (White) students, they were not graduating at the same rates, they were not preparing for college at the same rates or in the same way, and they were not exposed to and were not enjoying post-secondary educational opportunities at the same rates. After a discussion with an admissions officer at the University of Colorado Boulder one day at work, I could not shake the hollow feeling I harbored upon hearing that each year at UCB considerably low numbers of Black students enrolled each year as entering freshmen (see Table X.1). At first, I did not believe the numbers could be that low, that only 300 Black students were present on UCB’s campus each year, but as I began to conduct my own research to uncover the truth, the data I found proved the statement to be true. As I kept investigating the history of diverse student access at UCB, I recognized that an in-depth discussion concerning the presence of minority students on UCB’s campus was nowhere to be found. As no history of diverse student access to the university currently exists, this

dissertation should be interpreted as a first-step study concerning minority student access to the university; as a result, opportunities to expand this research are abundant and discussed in further detail in Chapter X.

Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into two sections. Section One includes three chapters and focuses upon the historical aspects of race and diversity nationally, locally, and specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder. Chapter II focuses upon race and higher education policy and offers a discussion of educational policies that have transformed our system of education and continue to shape national policy today. Chapter III offers a discussion of the role of race and diversity in the state of Colorado, uncovering a history of social and institutional racism. In Chapter IV, the historical underpinnings of race and diversity specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder are discussed from the founding of the University in 1876 through the 1990s. Section Two of the dissertation turns to a modern day discussion of race and diversity, discussing more recent trends utilized by institutions of higher education attempting to embrace diversity. The efforts implemented specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder in recent decades, from the 1990s through the present day, are explored in further detail.

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF RACE, DIVERSITY, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The racial caste system present since the founding of the United States, and exhibited in our public system of education, was affirmed by the US Supreme Court in 1857, in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sanford*. In this case, the court ruled that “no person of African descent, regardless of their status as a slave or a free Black, was to be afforded the status of citizenship or the rights that accompanied that status” (Byrd-Chichester, 2000, p. 13). This law was upheld until the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1868, which established “all persons born in the United States are citizens,” providing for the constitutional right of equal protection under the law (Byrd-Chichester, 2000, p. 13). In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, granting all male citizens the right to vote, regardless of their race and status though (Byrd-Chichester, 2000).

Despite the gains made with the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, in 1896 the Supreme Court upheld in *Plessy v. Ferguson* the “separate but equal” doctrine, and the racial caste system operating throughout the United States. The racial caste system was historically maintained by Jim Crow laws that were introduced during the period of Reconstruction in 1877 and required the separation of whites and “persons of color” in public transportation and schools, and were extended to include parks, cemeteries, theatres, restaurants and other public places to prevent contact between blacks and whites as equal members of society (Jim Crow law, 2013). In *Plessy* (1896), the Court upheld state imposed racial segregation and ignored the reality of racial discrimination throughout the country (Byrd-Chichester, 2000; *Plessy v. Ferguson*,

1896). Though not as simple as presented in this brief historical overview, it was not until 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* that the Fourteenth Amendment was interpreted differently by the courts and equality was upheld as Jim Crow legislation was struck down; however, by that time “segregation had become so institutionalized that without affirmative steps and in the face of strong opposition to change, it continued in practice” (Byrd-Chichester, 2000, p. 18). As an example of the stranglehold of segregation, institutions of higher education in ten southern states operated “racially dual systems” and were characterized by the separation of races until the end of the 1960s (Byrd-Chichester, 2000). Today in the twenty-first century, educational stakeholders suggest that segregation in K-12 and higher education facilities has resurfaced throughout the United States as specific policies used to integrate the educational system have expired (Anyon, 2005; Harvey, Harvey, & King, 2004; Kozol, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

With the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, desegregation efforts in higher education were put into motion and monitored by the US Department of Education Office of Civil Rights (OCR) throughout the South and across the country in the 1970s and into the 1980s (Byrd-Chichester, 2000). However, these efforts proved futile in transforming a system historically rooted in discrimination, particularly in the southern part of the country where *de jure* segregation practices were well established. As Byrd-Chichester (2000) notes, “In its review of 12 southern states, the Southern Education Foundation (1998) found that not one of the 12 could demonstrate real success in desegregating its higher education system” (p. 19).

The Brown Decision: Overturning Precedent

Efforts to integrate educational institutions across the K-12 system began with *Brown* (1954), “a critical event in the abolition of Jim Crow” (Leiter & Leiter, 2011, p. 90). In 1951 in Topeka, Kansas a class-action suit was filed against the Board of Education by Oliver L. Brown and 11 additional plaintiffs based upon concerns of the “separate but equal” policies of the Topeka schools. In the Topeka schools, and other schools in districts across the country, African-American and Caucasian children were educated separately though they were entitled to equal resources. This type of segregation was legal, as set forth by the Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). However, Brown and the other plaintiffs believed that the separate education of their children had detrimental effects. The district court ruled in favor of the Board of Education, upholding precedent case law from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). On appeal, *Brown* (1954) was heard before the US Supreme Court in conjunction with four other cases representing the segregation of minority students occurring in states and school districts throughout the country. On May 17, 1954, the *Brown* decision was unexpectedly read as reporters scrambled to the courthouse to listen to the Supreme Court’s opinion delivered by Chief Justice Earl Warren:

Education...represented a central experience in life. Those things that children learned in school remained with them for the rest of their time on earth. The critical question, then, was: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race...deprive the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities? We believe it does. (Chafe, 2011, p. 146)

Overturning the Supreme Court’s decision from 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the *Brown* (1954) decision resulted in the recognition by law “that ‘separate but equal’ schools were inherently unequal” (Kowalski, 2007, p. 24). Rossell (1995) describes

Brown as “morally significant”, as “the goal was the elimination of racial discrimination and state-sanctioned segregation in American life” (p. 613). The *Brown* decision would ultimately change the face of educational facilities but, “it required commitment, leadership, and tangible action if it were to become more than empty rhetoric” (Chafe, 2011, p. 147). Commitment, leadership, and tangible action were not modeled by then President Dwight Eisenhower who disapproved of the *Brown* decision because he believed, “the federal government should be passive on controversial issues” (Chafe, 2011, p. 148). Passivity certainly characterized the early response to *Brown*, particularly throughout the South.

In May of 1955, a second ruling in *Brown* was handed down by the Supreme Court which stated, “implementation procedures were to begin with ‘all deliberate speed,’ but no deadline was set” (Chafe, 2011, p. 147). As a result of the inaction that accompanied the Supreme Court decisions in *Brown* (1954) and *Brown II* (1955), schools in the South remained segregated well beyond the 1950s (Wilkinson, 1979). Examples of continued segregation were evident in K-12 schools and colleges throughout the south: “As late as 1962, not a single Negro attended White schools or colleges in Mississippi, Alabama, or South Carolina” (Wilkinson, 1979, p. 65).

In the 1950s and 1960s, desegregation of schools (i.e. education Whites and Blacks together) in the Southern region of the United States was not a priority, and the Supreme Court did not play an active role leading these efforts (Wilkinson, 1979). Eisenhower’s failure to take leadership left educational leaders, ready to begin integration efforts, without direction and support (Chafe, 2011). As a result, “state governments shifted their attention from how to comply to how to circumvent” by passing pupil

assignment laws “that transferred authority over schools to local school boards to avoid statewide suits by the NAACP” (Chafe, 2011, p. 151). In the absence of leadership from the President and Supreme Court, lower federal courts were left with the responsibility of overseeing desegregation efforts in the public schools across the country (Wilkinson, 1979).

Though the *Brown* (1954) decision did not immediately usher in successful school desegregation efforts across the country, ultimately the court ruling framed the racial issues in America that needed to be addressed for the nation to progress past separate but equal and other forms of segregation. *Brown* (1954) highlighted the detrimental effects of racial discrimination and “its impact extended far beyond schools to desegregate neighborhoods, public facilities, and private organizations” (Rossell, 1995, p. 613). *Brown* (1954) also uncovered the inequities facing minority children who attended schools that were underfunded and understaffed compared to schools White children attended. In terms of higher education opportunities, minority students had limited access to undergraduate and graduate programs when compared to their White peers, and because programs were quickly established to accommodate minorities seeking higher education, the programs offered were inferior to those options provided to White students. Throughout the South, resistance to integration was commonplace, and was ultimately challenged by Blacks fighting for their own civil rights.

The Civil Rights Movement and Race Conscious Educational Policy

Though the fight for civil rights continues today, as labeled in our country’s history, the American Civil Rights Movement consisted of many major events that took place between 1955 and 1968 aimed at terminating racial discrimination practices against

African Americans, particularly in the Southern region of the United States. Prior to 1955, organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attempted to abolish discriminatory practices. As state-sanctioned discrimination was struck down in *Brown* (1954), “civil rights activists used nonviolent protest and civil disobedience to bring about change” (www.history.com, n.d., Civil Rights Movement). Acts of civil disobedience included boycotts, such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama, sit-ins, and marches.

The historical Civil Rights Movement was accompanied by a variety of legal victories including *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), that deemed segregation in public schools legally impermissible; the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that banned discrimination in employment practices and public accommodations; the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that enabled African-Americans to vote; the Immigration and Nationality Services Act of 1965 which dramatically changed U.S. immigration policy; and, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 that banned discriminatory practices in the sale or rental of housing. In 1968, the face and leader of the Civil Rights Movement, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., was assassinated and the movement was forever changed; however, issues of race and discrimination persisted, accumulating in several race riots that took place throughout the 1970s (www.history.com, n.d.).

In the mid-1960s, the passage of the Civil Rights Act was seen as a major triumph for minorities and liberals, but the legislation divided the nation and many public facilities (Kowalski, 2007). The division occurred most extensively in the South which remained segregated even after the passage of civil rights legislation (Anderson, T., 2004). President Johnson put several programs into motion to support minorities

throughout the United States but was still pressured by Black leaders (i.e. Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, Malcolm X) to compensate African Americans for more than two hundred years of slavery and mistreatment (Chafe, 2011). These leaders called for a “domestic Marshall Plan” which would include a deliberate effort made by the government to include African Americans in all aspects of life in the United States (Anderson, T., 2004). This deliberate effort to level the playing field included a program of preferences and special treatment for African Americans, expected to endure for a limited period of time. Other programs were also proposed by Black leaders, “but most liberals and the majority of citizens did not support special treatment of groups of individuals” (Anderson, T., 2004, p. 87). Under pressure from these Black leaders, in 1965, President Johnson decided more needed to be done to help African Americans in particular (Anderson, T., 2004; Chafe, 2011; Leiter & Leiter, 2011).

Accepting responsibility on behalf of the government for the disparate economic and social realities facing African Americans in the United States, “Johnson and some other liberals were now beginning to advocate opening the doors of opportunity. . . Equality became a policy of the Johnson administration” (Anderson, T., 2004, p. 89). For the Johnson administration, equality was associated with providing opportunities for African Americans to receive extra help and to gain benefit from more social programs to put underrepresented individuals on equal footing with other citizens. Thus, as disparities were recognized, policies encouraging the integration of schools, such as mandatory busing and affirmative action, evolved and were utilized to desegregate educational institutions throughout the country (Leiter & Leiter, 2011).

Race and K-12 Education

Beginning in 1971, elementary and secondary schools across the country were ordered by the Supreme Court to achieve appropriate levels of racial integration, an appropriate mix of Whites and minority students. Based upon the precedent set forth in *Brown* (1954) in which the Court declared “separate is not equal,” integration efforts were designed to “expunge educational inequality” by placing “proportionately sized groups of African American and/or Hispanic children. . . in the same classrooms as their White peers” (Leiter & Leiter, 2011, p. 95). *Brown* (1954) paved the way for desegregation of schools but the court decision in *Green* (1968) mandated integration of schools and marked the “beginning of the period of affirmative action remedies” (Rossell, 1995, p. 616; Leiter & Leiter, 2011).

To achieve racial integration of K-12 schools, the mandatory busing of students to and from various schools was put into place in school districts across the country as the Supreme Court proposed in *Swann* (1971) that “busing. . . was a permissible tool for dismantling a dual system” (Rossell, 1995, p. 616). In the early 1970s, Tompkins (2000) suggested the concept of busing students to schools was not new, but busing to achieve “racial balance” was new. The mandatory busing of students to achieve racial integration in K-12 schools was not isolated to Southern states, where de jure (i.e., legal) segregation was prevalent, but took place in school districts across the country (Tompkins, 2000). Racial balance laws were put into place in California, Massachusetts, and New York, but northern states operated with uncertainty because no segregation laws had previously been in place that resulted in the operation of dual school systems separated by race (Rossell, 1995).

In *Keyes* (1973), described in further detail below, the Supreme Court expanded the definition of de jure segregation “as encompassing almost any action a school district might take that resulted in racially imbalanced schools” (Rossell, 1995, p. 619). As a result, busing was mandated in Denver, Colorado, and other “Northern” states, to integrate minority and White students in schools, as minority schools were found to be unequal to the schools populated by White students (*Keyes*, 1971; Leiter & Leiter, 2011; Rossell, 1995; Tompkins, 2000). Busing became one of the most controversial topics in both law and politics surrounding the school desegregation debate since it was introduced in the 1970s, and many school districts across the country were released from mandatory busing orders during the 1990s (*West’s Encyclopedia of American Law*, 2005). Denver Public School district was released from forced busing plans in September of 1995, even though Denver schools in the 1990s were “more racially segregated than ever” (Brooke, 1995).

Mitchell (2011) describes the historical enrollment of students in the Denver Public School system, which rebounded to 80,956 in 2011 after forced busing mandated by the US Supreme Court led to a steady decline of student enrollment. In 1969, the total pupil count in Denver schools reached its high of 97,849, plummeting to its lowest enrollment numbers of 58,312 in 1989 as a result of “White flight” to surrounding, suburban school districts (Mitchell, 2011). White flight refers to the “departure of whites from places (as urban neighborhoods or schools) increasingly or predominantly populated by minorities” (Merriam-Webster, 2013). In 2011, White students composed 56.1% of the Denver Public Schools student population, followed by 31.9% Hispanic students, 4.8% Black students, 3.1% Asian, 3.1% Two or more Races, .8% American Indian, and

.2% Asian or Pacific Islander (Colorado Department of Education, 2011). Denver Public Schools achieved an increased graduation rate of 73.9% in 2011, with Asian, White, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and mixed-race students graduating at higher rates than their Black, Hispanic, and American Indian peers (Colorado Department of Education, 2011). Summaries of the three school integration cases described previously are included here.

Green v. County School Board of New Kent County (1970)

This case, brought by petitioners in 1965, concerned the maintenance of a historically racially segregated school system operating in New Kent County, Virginia. As described in the Supreme Court case summary, about half of the residents of the county “are Negroes”¹ (*Green v. County School Board*, 1970). Though students attended racially segregated schools, no residential segregation took place in the county. New Kent School served White students from elementary to high school, and George W. Watkins School served Negroes from elementary to high school. As detailed, twenty-one buses transported students to and from school each day; eleven transported Negro students and ten transported White students to their respective educational institutions. Constitutional and statutory provisions in Virginia from 1902 and 1950 mandated racial segregation in public education.

In response to *Brown* (1954) and *Brown II* (1955), the school board adopted the Pupil Placement Act, repealed in 1966, which provided the State Pupil Placement Board with the authority to assign students to schools. As of 1964, no Negro students had applied for admission to New Kent and no White students had applied for admission to

¹ Negroes is used throughout this section to refer to Blacks because this is the language included in the official court documents in *Green v. County School Board* (1970), *Swann* (1971), and *Keyes* (1973).

Watkins. In August of 1965, the school board adopted a freedom of choice plan for desegregating schools in order to remain eligible for federal financial aid. The freedom of choice plan allowed students to choose the school they wanted to attend each year. If students did not choose, they were automatically assigned to the school they attended previously, although first and eighth graders were required to affirmatively choose a school. As of 1967, no White students chose to attend Watkins, and although 115 Negroes chose to enroll at New Kent, the Court found a dual system, based on race, continued to operate in the county. As decided by the Court in this case, the school board was ultimately required “to formulate a new plan and fashion steps which promise realistically to convert promptly” to a system with “just schools” instead of a White school and a “Negro” school (*Green v. County School Board*, 1968).

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971)

During the 1968-1969 school year, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system served approximately 84,000 students in 107 schools. Of these 84,000 students, 71% were White and 29% Negro. Of the 21,000 Negro students attending schools within the city of Charlotte, approximately two-thirds, 14,000, attended 21 schools described as “totally Negro or more than 99% Negro” (*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, 1971). The District Court ordered the school board to devise a desegregation plan, targeting both students and faculty, in April of 1969. The board failed to submit an acceptable plan by December of 1969, and the District Court appointed educational expert, Dr. John Finger, to prepare a desegregation plan. In February, 1970, the board submitted a finalized plan along with the “Finger plan” to the District Court.

In February 1970, the District Court ultimately agreed upon adopting the board plan, with some modifications presented by Dr. Finger for the middle school and high schools, and the Finger plan for elementary schools. Implementation of the desegregation plan was delayed by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit on March 5, 1970. The Court of Appeals agreed with the desegregation plans, as presented, for the secondary schools but “feared that the pairing and grouping of elementary schools would place an unfair burden on the board and the system’s pupils” (*Swann*, 1970). Two new plans for desegregating the system’s elementary schools were submitted to the District Court: the HEW plan submitted by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and, the Minority plan, submitted by 4 members of the 9 member school board. The District Court found both plans, and the originally adopted “Finger plan,” to be acceptable and ordered the board to adopt one of the plans or develop an alternative, effective plan on its own. The “Finger plan” would remain in effect until the board decided upon a new plan. The board acquiesced and accepted the “Finger plan,” and the District Court ordered its adoption on August 7, 1970.

The District Court identified four problems at the center of student assignment to schools. These four problem areas are described in detail by the District Court and include (a) racial balances or racial quotas, (b) one-race schools, (c) remedial altering of attendance zones, and (d) transportation of students. Each of these problem areas contributed to the complexity facing schools and communities to foster successful integration efforts across the United States. In the 1970s, mandatory busing orders were put into place throughout the country as a means to remedy the segregation of schools. *Swann* (1970) laid the foundation for promoting busing as “a permissible tool for

dismantling a dual system as ‘feasible’” (Rossell, 1995, p. 5). The Court didn’t define “feasible,” but suggested districts should consider time and distance, as well as the age of the students when making decisions about busing students to integrate schools across a particular system (Swann, 1970; Rossell, 1995).

Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO (1973)

As described in the extensive case summary in *Keyes* (1971), unlike Virginia and North Carolina, “there has never been a law in Colorado requiring separate educational facilities for different races” (para. 7). The Denver Public School Board operated a neighborhood school plan requiring children living within particular boundaries to attend a centrally located school. In the 1960s, the Denver School Board assembled a variety of committees to study the equality of educational opportunities offered to students throughout the system. In 1962, upon recognizing the neighborhood school plan resulted in concentrations of minority and racial groups at certain schools, the Voorhees Committee “recommended that the School Board consider racial, ethnic and socioeconomic factors in establishing boundaries and locating new schools in order to create heterogeneous school communities” (para. 8). It wasn’t until two years later, in 1964, that the Board acknowledged the shortcomings of the neighborhood school plan in creating heterogeneous school populations and passed Policy 5100 to create changes that would integrate schools. However, no changes were implemented.

In 1966, the Berge Committee examined the board policies concerning the location of schools located in Northeast Denver and made suggestions to integrate those schools. Once again, none of their recommendations were put into effect. In 1968, the Noel Resolution was adopted by the board, which required the superintendent to submit a

school integration plan to the Board. A plan was submitted and three resolutions were passed. The goal of each of these resolutions was to “spread the Negro populations of these schools to numerous schools by boundary changes. . . Negro populations would become roughly 20%” (*Keyes*, 1971, para. 11). Before the newly adopted integration plan could be passed, two candidates promising to rescind the Resolutions were elected to serve on the board. The three original Resolutions were rescinded, and Resolution 1533 was passed, providing for a voluntary exchange program between elementary schools in the Northeast section of the district with other elementary schools throughout the district. As a result, the *Keyes* suit was filed.

The specific schools included in the suit were located in the Park Hill area, an area heavily populated by Negroes. The District Court found that the Denver School Board “had engaged over almost a decade after 1960 in an unconstitutional policy of deliberate racial segregation with respect to the Park Hill schools” (*Keyes*, 1973, para. 2). The District Court ordered the board to implement the three rescinded Resolutions to desegregate the Park Hill schools. The petitioners in *Keyes* (1971), asked the District Court to order desegregation of all segregated schools in Denver, but the Court did not decide in their favor, citing lack of evidence of intentional discrimination in other areas of the district. However, the District Court did find “that the proofs established that segregated core city schools were educationally inferior to the predominantly “White” or “Anglo” schools in other parts of the district” (*Keyes*, 1973, para. 4).

On appeal to the Supreme Court, Denver was described as a “tri-ethnic community,” with the composition of the system detailed as follows: “66% Anglo, 14% Negro, and 20% Hispano” (*Keyes*, 1973, para. 7). Given this racial make-up of the city

and based upon research, the Supreme Court suggested, “Negroes and Hispanos in Denver suffer identical discrimination in treatment when compared with the treatment afforded Anglo students” (*Keyes*, 1973, para. 8). The District Court in *Keyes* (1971) described “inferior schools” as those schools populated by 70-75% of Negro or Hispano students. The Supreme Court suggested the need to consider the facts for each particular case which would include the composition of a school’s student body, the racial and ethnic composition of faculty and staff, and the attitudes of the community and administration toward the school (*Keyes*, 1973). Justice Brennan delivered the opinion of the Court in June of 1973 in which the majority indicated the Denver school system was guilty of segregation. This case is significant because it is one of the first instances of segregation identified in Northern schools (*Keyes*, 1973).

Affirmative Action

Understanding the evolving history of race relations at the University of Colorado Boulder is one important aspect of this study, yet it is also essential to understand race relations in a broader context. This context is set against the background of the intense debate surrounding the role of affirmative-action policies in institutions of education, both across the nation and in the state of Colorado. Brown II and Donahoo (2003) define affirmative action as

A government policy that seeks to remedy long-standing discrimination directed at specific groups, including women and racial and ethnic minorities. The basic purpose of affirmative action policies and programs is to increase access to, and ensure the equitable distribution of, opportunities in higher education, employment, government contracts, housing, and other social-welfare areas. (p. 1)

Rubio (2001) describes affirmative action as a governmental policy with major social implications, implemented to even the playing field for individuals of minority backgrounds in the United States. Introducing the complex nature of a divisive topic,

Rubio (2001) states, “affirmative action is not just public policy or political and legal history. It also represents a social and cultural struggle over whether there should exist a property value in Whiteness and if equality should be really equal” (p. xv). To Rubio, affirmative action is a policy that has the capacity to ensure equality of resources and opportunity for all Americans.

Though the term “affirmative action” was used prior to 1961, the policy as understood today stems from executive order 10925 issued by President Kennedy in March 1961 (Anderson, T., 2004; Brown II & Donahoo, 2003; Chafe 2011; Leiter & Leiter, 2011). The goal of this executive order was to end discrimination in the realm of employment and to support the national policy of nondiscrimination. Tracing the evolution of the policy, Anderson (2004) explains how affirmative action expanded with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson. The Civil Rights Act proposed by Johnson was both comprehensive and controversial, and included a plan to integrate all public facilities and schools, prohibited discrimination in federally funded programs, and ended discrimination in employment (Anderson, T., 2004; Brown II & Donahoo, 2003; Leiter & Leiter, 2011).

President Johnson put several programs in motion to support minorities throughout the United States but was still pressured by Black leaders to compensate African Americans for more than two hundred years of slavery and mistreatment in the United States (Anderson, T., 2004). These leaders called for a “domestic Marshall Plan” which would include a deliberate effort made by the government to include African Americans in all aspects of life in the United States, as well as a program of preferences and special treatment for African Americans, lasting for a limited period of time. T.

Anderson (2004) notes that other programs were also proposed by Black leaders, “but most liberals and the majority of citizens did not support special treatment of groups of individuals” (p. 87). Under pressure from these minority leaders, in 1965 President Johnson decided more needed to be done to help both the poor and African Americans in particular (Anderson, J., 2002).

Accepting responsibility on behalf of the government for the disparate economic and social realities facing African Americans in the United States, “Johnson and some other liberals were now beginning to advocate opening the doors of opportunity....equality became a policy of the Johnson administration” (Anderson, T., 2004, p. 89). For the Johnson administration, equality was associated with providing opportunities for African Americans to receive extra help and to gain benefit from more social programs to put underrepresented individuals on equal footing with other citizens. Thus, though affirmative action did not initially call for the special treatment of a particular group of individuals, as disparities were recognized, affirmative-action policies evolved and were utilized to promote individuals, who belonged to particular groups (i.e., members of minority groups) over those who did not belong to those groups.

The Civil Rights Act (1964) was hotly debated in political and public spheres as individuals questioned whether the proposed policies were “fair.” As this debate progressed, “to some—especially minorities and their liberal allies—some sort of preferential treatment for past injustices and discrimination was fair; to others—many Whites and their conservative allies—that was reverse discrimination and unfair” (Anderson, T., 2004, p. 76). Growing out of this lively debate, discussions about preferences, quotas, compensation, and reverse discrimination plagued the nation and

Presidents Johnson, Nixon, and Carter during the 1960s and 1970s. As affirmative-action policy was implemented throughout these three presidential administrations, the focal point of the debate shifted from a recognized need to level the playing field to the questionable use of quotas and set-aside programs as “specific goals for hiring women and minorities began under the administration of President Richard Nixon” (Kowalski, 2007, p. 27).

Race and the Pursuit of Higher Education

Education is an invaluable resource for individuals, groups, and nations as a whole, and “the higher education of students of color is not only important to the progress of communities of color but equally important to the long-term needs and prosperity of the nation” (Anderson, J., 2002, p. 19). Education plays a vital role in the lives of all Americans, and because of its importance, communities of color value education and recognize its importance in providing opportunities for advancement in all aspects of life (Leiter & Leiter, 2011). However, the history of discrimination and the segregation of schools in the United States negatively impacts minorities and has worked to maintain the status quo (Anderson, J., 2002; Garcia, 1997; Leiter & Leiter, 2011). According to Garcia (1997), segregation resulted in unfair advantages for White students, though preferences for White students throughout history have gone unacknowledged, particularly when debating the fairness of affirmative action programs which are seen to ‘favor’ minority students.

Harvey, Harvey, and King (2004) discuss the impact of the *Brown* (1954) decision on institutions of higher education suggesting, “the text of the *Brown* decision was about segregation at the elementary and secondary school level, [but] the subtext was

about justice and equality throughout the educational arena and entire social system” (p. 328). As a result, the court decision in *Brown* (1954) opened “the doors of colleges and universities that had been closed to African Americans for years” (Harvey et al., 2004, p. 328). The resistance to integration in elementary and secondary schools, particularly in the Southern United States, was not encountered to the same degree in post-secondary institutions. In fact, “the student enrollment figures suggest that racial integration has been more extensive, and, thus ostensibly more effective at the collegiate level than at the K-12 level” (p. 328). The numbers of Blacks enrolling in post-secondary institutions has climbed steadily into the twenty-first century, but data have continued to demonstrate that Hispanic and African-American groups of students are continually left behind, highlighted by low enrollment and graduation rates from post-secondary institutions across the United States (Harvey et al., 2004; Smith, Altbach, Lomotey, 2002; Sterrett, 2005).

In the early 1970s, many institutions of higher education “adopted race-conscious desegregation measures and affirmative action plans in admissions and financial aid. . . to enroll and support minority students, especially African Americans” (Byrd-Chichester, 2000, p. 21). The use of race-conscious desegregation measures, widely recognized as affirmative-action policies, were challenged by Whites and classified as “reverse discrimination” as soon as they were introduced (Byrd-Chichester, 2000). The legal system has been the platform from which many of these challenges have been launched, and the use of race-conscious policies, like affirmative action in higher education admission decisions and mandatory busing in K-12 schools, have been the target. Byrd-Chichester (2000) provides a modern discussion of the plight of affirmative action in the

legal system: “The Supreme Court’s generally negative treatment of race-conscious measures in the past decade and its refusal to review the two extremely harmful appellate court decisions in higher education from the mid-1990s. . . have encouraged the opponents of affirmative action and resulted in a spate of recent challenges at all educational levels to race-conscious efforts to remedy discrimination, segregation, and racial isolation or to foster diversity” (pp. 22-23).

Race Conscious Admissions and the Judicial System

Beginning with the *Brown* decision of 1954, the Court became a central battle ground for leveling the playing field in education (Engoren, 2006; Wilkinson, 1979). Through his exploration of the role of the Supreme Court in promoting school integration efforts throughout the United States, Wilkinson (1979) asserts, “*Brown v. Board of Education* helped deliver the Negro from over three centuries of legal bondage. But *Brown* acted to emancipate the White South and the Supreme Court as well” (p. 11). The Court decision in *Brown* (1954) was vital to the Civil Rights Movement, as the decision set the stage to support an argument of equality and fairness for minorities who historically had been excluded and segregated from mainstream American life. Allen et al. (2000), discuss the value of education as “an essential foundation of democracy. For African-Americans, the centuries old struggle for access to and success in higher education has become emblematic of a larger fight for personhood and equality” (p. 3).

Today, race is still seen as a persistent and problematic factor throughout American society and case law and Supreme Court decisions associated with affirmative action in higher education has become increasingly complex. In exploring the history of race in education, it becomes evident that “the legal landscape concerning race-conscious

policies is constantly shifting” (Chang, Witt-Sandis, and Hakuta, 1999, p. 12). Much of the legal landscape surrounding race in education has revolved around the controversial use of affirmative-action policies, or race conscious admission policies, and will once again as the education community awaits a US Supreme Court decision in yet another case concerning the use of race-conscious admission decisions in *Fisher v. Texas* (n.d.), discussed further in this chapter. The court cases that have shaped the acceptable use of affirmative action in higher education are summarized below.

Kingdon (2003, p. 198) states that “developments in the political sphere are powerful agenda setters” and within the United States, the courts, particularly the Supreme Court is seen as a major agenda setter. The Courts are one of many political players, as “political science defines ‘political’ very broadly, including just about any activity related to the authoritative allocation of values, or to the distribution of benefits and costs” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 145). Clearly the United States Supreme Court is involved with both activities, allocating values and distributing benefits and costs to defendants and plaintiffs. In regard to affirmative action, in the cases summarized below, the role of the courts throughout history has proved to be both pivotal and powerful. The decisions handed down in each of the cases against Michigan, as well as the others, brought before the Supreme Court determined the constitutionality of affirmative action in admission decisions, and the decisions of the Court reflected the value judgment concerning educational equity issues in the United States (Stone, 2002). Though judges on the Supreme Court are not necessarily politicians, they are heavily involved in political activities through their mere presence within the governmental structure and their assigned role to decide highly controversial and political issues. There is no doubt that

the decisions rendered in all of these cases brought before the Court were influenced by the politics of each passing decade. Generally, the Courts have protected the use of race-conscious educational policies, but this may change as educational stakeholders await a decision anticipated this summer, 2013.

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

As discussed at length previously in this chapter, *Brown* (1954) is recognized as one of the most salient decisions made by the Supreme Court regarding both civil rights and education in the United States. *Brown* (1954) provides important insight into the historical underpinnings of the educational disparities faced by African-Americans within the United States, and with it a deeper understanding of the persistent affirmative action debate and the need for race-conscious education policies to transform a system presently and historically dominated by the White majority.

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)

Allan Bakke applied to the University of California-Davis medical school in 1973 and 1974 and was denied admission both years. At the time of Baake's application, the university employed two admission programs. The regular admissions program considered applicants with a GPA of at least 2.5, along with their MCAT scores, letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities and other biographical information thought to be of importance to the admissions committee. Applicants were then given a benchmark score and ranked against one another. A second, special admissions program was reserved for students who considered themselves to be either economically or educationally disadvantaged and/or members of a minority group. These applications were reviewed in a similar process to that utilized in the general admissions pool, but the

2.5 minimum GPA requirement was waived and these students were not ranked against the general pool of applicants, only against others in the special admissions pool. A set number (i.e., a quota) was reserved to admit students from this special pool of applicants. Bakke was denied admission to UC Davis in 1973 and 1974, even though his benchmark score was higher than students admitted under the special admission program.

Bakke filed suit in the Superior Court of California asking for an injunction from the court to order his admission to the medical school. A counter claim by the University moved the case to the California Supreme Court, which decided in favor of Bakke. The University appealed this decision to the United States Supreme Court. On June 28, 1978 the US Supreme Court handed down a decision in favor of Bakke, citing quotas as unconstitutional but indicating that race could be used as one of many factors when considering applicants to the medical school.

Hopwood v. Texas (1996)

Cheryl Hopwood, a White woman, brought her case to the attention of the Center for Individual Rights (CIR) in 1992 after being denied admission to the University Of Texas School Of Law. She filed a lawsuit, with CIR's backing, against the University of Texas in the US District Court in the Western Region of Texas, claiming that she was denied admission to the law school even though she was better qualified than many of the minority candidates that were admitted. The Center for Individual Rights was founded in November of 1988, and began operating in April of 1989 as a non-profit, conservative, public interest, law firm whose objective it is to defend individual liberties, particularly in the realm of free speech and civil rights (Center for Individual Rights, n.d.). In its first year of operation, CIR operated on a meager budget, \$220,000, receiving grants from

conservative foundations and services from “conservative, libertarian, and moderate attorneys in for-profit firms. . . [working on] precedent-setting cases involving real, live plaintiffs” (Center for Individual Rights, n.d.). Judge Sam Sparks, who heard this case in the district court in 1994, indicated that the University of Texas was entitled to consider race in admission decisions to maintain diversity and/or to remedy past discrimination (Tarlton Guides, n.d.).

Hopwood appealed the decision to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, one of the most conservative—actually right wing—benches in the country. Judge Jerry E. Smith issued the decision on March 18, 1996 reversing the decision made in the district court and holding that the University Of Texas School Of Law could not consider race in admission decisions. The University appealed the decision to the US Supreme Court in 1996, but the Court declined to review the case in July of 1996. The decision made in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals greatly impacted the admission policies of higher education institutions in Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi, ending the use of race-conscious affirmative action policies in the admissions process (*Hopwood*, 1996). *Hopwood v. Texas* (1996) proved to be a major victory for the Center of Individual Rights.

Texas v. LeSage (1997)

Taking advantage of the decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the *Hopwood v. Texas* (1996) case, Francois LeSage pursued a lawsuit against the University of Texas at Austin, charging “that the University’s entrance criteria for a doctoral program in counseling psychology discriminated in favor of Black and Hispanic applicants” (Alger, 1999, p. 5). The case reached the US Supreme Court, and on

November 29, 1999 the court ruled that UT Austin could not “be punished for using an allegedly unconstitutional affirmative-action policy to reject a White applicant, so long as the applicant would have been turned down anyway and the program is not now in use” (Alger, p. 5). Though the Supreme Court acknowledged that the university did use an “impermissible criterion,” consideration of race, in the admission process, LeSage’s case did not hold up because the university was able to demonstrate that he would have been rejected on other grounds (*Texas v. LeSage*, 1997).

Gratz and Grutter v. Bollinger (2003)

Until *Fisher v. Texas* (currently pending decision), *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003) and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) have served as the most recent judicial pronouncements in the policy debate concerning the use of affirmative action in higher education admission decisions. Both cases were brought against the University of Michigan, with *Gratz* challenging the use of race-conscious undergraduate admission policies and *Grutter* challenging similar policies in the School of Law (Green, 2004).

Victory in *Hopwood v. Texas* (1996) proved encouraging and provided a confidence boost for the Center for Individual Rights (CIR) and encouragement to bring another anti-affirmative action case brewing against the University of Michigan all the way to the Supreme Court (Green, 2004). As anti-affirmative action legislation proved successful with Proposition 209 passing in California and Initiative 200 passing in Washington in 1998, it appeared that the CIR recognized the public was paying attention to, and at least some people were opposing, the affirmative action issue. The Supreme Court victory and the passage of Proposition 209 and Initiative 200 became powerful symbols, and focusing events, of the affirmative action problem as defined by the CIR.

According to Kingdon (2003), “Symbols catch on and have important focusing effects because they capture in a nutshell some sort of reality that people already sense in a vaguer, more diffuse way” (p. 97). In further describing the power of focusing events on creating a policy window or change opportunity, Kingdon (2003) indicates that “the disaster acts as an early warning, but then needs to be combined with more solid indication that the problem is widespread” (p. 98). Bringing several cases to the attention of the public was one way in which the Center for Individual Rights revealed that the use of affirmative-action policies in college admission programs was a practice that was indeed, widespread.

Because courts usually are bound by precedent, the CIR felt confident in filing the cases against the University of Michigan following their recent victory in *Hopwood* (1996). However, the University of Michigan was also able to rely upon past precedent, particularly *Bakke* (1978) in which the Supreme Court indicated that higher education admission committees could consider race and ethnicity as part of the admission process. According to Kingdon (2003), “in the process of policy development, recombination (the coupling of already-familiar elements) is more important than mutation (the appearance of wholly new forms).... There is change, but it involves the recombination of already-familiar elements” (p. 201). Thus, the many affirmative action cases already heard and decided upon by the courts provided a starting point from which decisions in the current cases against Michigan were drawn.

Gratz and Grutter (2003) Decisions

The United States Supreme Court issued a landmark decision on June 23, 2003, upholding the admission policies and practices of the University of Michigan School of

Law in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003). The Court found diversity to be a compelling interest in higher education, and recognized that in order to achieve the diversity reflected in the world community, race could be considered in the admission process (Killenbeck, 2004). Leiter and Leiter (2011) propose that the Court's acceptance of the diversity argument "provided a constitutional platform supportive of preferential university admissions for minorities" (p. 300). In essence, the diversity argument championed by the Court for use by colleges and universities had been proposed before in *Brown* (1954) and *Green* (1969) under the guise of integration (Leiter & Leiter, 2011). Integration and diversity are essentially the same thing, and both goals are supported by affirmative action policies (Ford, 2008).

In *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), the Court found that while race is one of several factors that can be considered in an open admissions process like that used by the University of Michigan School of Law, the automatic distribution of points to minority students is not constitutional. This decision points toward the acceptable use of race-conscious admission policies when considering applications on an individual basis in order to achieve a "critical mass of underrepresented minority students [who] could not be enrolled if admission decisions were based primarily on undergraduate GPAs and LSAT scores" (Killenbeck, 2004, p. 15). Unlike the *Bakke* (1978) decision, the Supreme Court decision in *Grutter* (2003) favored affirmative action practices in higher education admission processes: "Arguably, the victory for affirmative consideration of race in pursuit of a diverse student body was complete. In contrast to *Bakke*, a clear majority of the *Grutter* Court agreed on the core holdings, the presence of a compelling interest and

approval of at least one admissions policy that met the narrow tailoring requirement” (Killenbeck, 2004, p. 17).

Though the 2003 decisions were somewhat reassuring to proponents of affirmative action and institutions of higher education, it is already evident that these policies will continue to be challenged well into the future, and they already have been. In discussing the implications of the court decisions made in 2003, Elliott and Ewold (2005) draw attention to the likely possibility of future court struggles as “we will witness an ongoing tension between the traditional American ideal of equal opportunity and the compelling arguments made for the desirability and, even necessity, of government action to create a more inclusive society” (p. 11). The decision pending in the most current court struggle, *Fisher v. Texas* will impact the use of race conscious policies in higher education admissions again in our immediate future.

Fisher v. Texas (not decided)

The United States Supreme Court is currently hearing the case of *Fisher v. Texas* and the outcome of this particular case is greatly anticipated by those invested in higher education policy initiatives on both sides of the political fence. The case was brought before the courts by Abigail Fisher who was denied admission to the University of Texas at Austin in 2008 after not qualifying for admission under the university’s “Top 10 Percent Plan” (*Fisher v. Texas*, n.d.; The Chronicle in Higher Education, n.d.). After not qualifying under the Top 10 Percent Plan, Fisher, a white Texan, was placed into the broader pool of applicants in which race and diversity can be considered (The Chronicle in Higher Education, n.d.; Legal Information Institute, n.d.).

In 1997, House Bill 588 was passed by the Texas legislature in response to the court decision in *Hopwood* (1996) that struck down affirmative action policies practiced at the University of Texas School of Law (Pinhel, 2008). California and Florida also utilize percentage plans in admissions to state universities, and in Texas, “the top 10% law has had the greatest impact at the state’s flagship universities” (Pinhel, 2008). Upon admitting all automatic qualifiers, students in the remaining applicant pool are considered for admission based upon a variety of academic and socioeconomic factors, including race (Pinhel, 2008). According to data compiled in 2005 by the nonpartisan Texas House Research Organization, Hispanic, African-American, and Asian-American enrollment at the state’s flagship institutions were positively impacted by the top 10% law as the presence of these underrepresented students on campus increased (Pinhel, 2008).

In the current case, Fisher argues that the university’s consideration of race for applicants not admitted automatically under the top 10% law violates limits set by the Supreme Court in *Grutter* in 2003 (The Chronicle of Higher Education, n.d.). According to The Chronicle of Higher Education article (n.d.), since 2003, the Supreme Court has become “more conservative and more hostile to racial preferences.” The Supreme Court may decide to uphold or strike down the policies currently used by the University of Texas at Austin, or they may make a more sweeping decision and “strike down all race-conscious admission policies at the nation’s colleges, by rejecting its own precedents holding that such policies serve a compelling government interest” (The Chronicle of Higher Education, n.d.). Various groups from both the private and public sector have chimed in, urging the court to decide in the direction of each group’s preferences.

Accordingly, the White House, among other groups, asked the justices to rule in the university's favor (The Chronicle of Higher Education, n.d.).

Race-Based State Legislation

California voters passed Proposition 209 in 1996, forbidding race and gender from being considered in state contracting, employment, and higher education (Walker, 1999). In Washington, Initiative 200 was passed in 1998 ending the use of affirmative action in the public sector and institutions of higher education (Walker, 1999). In November 2006, Proposal 2 was passed by voters in Michigan banning racial preferences in college admissions, college financial aid programs, state contracting, and state employment decisions (Adversity.net, 2007; Kirwan Institute, 2008). In 2008, anti-affirmative action ballot measures appeared in Colorado and Nebraska. Arizona, Missouri, and Oklahoma were also originally targeted by Ward Connerly, an anti-affirmative action activist and former University of California regent, who was responsible for leading these efforts (www.civilrights.org, 2012).

In 2008, Colorado voters rejected Amendment 46, while Nebraska voters passed Initiative 424 and became the fourth state to ban affirmative action (www.civilrights.org, 2012). The Kirwan Institute (2008) described the defeat of the Civil Rights Initiative by Coloradoans, due in large part to the work of the "No on 46" coalition, as a win for equal opportunity across the country. After the 2008 election results were posted, in an interview with *The Colorado Independent*, "Connerly stated that he will 'likely halt his nationwide push to end race and gender preferences'" (Kirwan Institute, 2008, p. 14). In the 2012 election year, civil rights initiatives did not surface on any state ballots across

the country. Barack Obama, the first African-American to be elected President of the United States, was re-elected to a second term.

In Colorado, the 1998 Policy on Affirmative Action (CCHE) is the most updated policy regarding the state's stance on the use of affirmative-action policies in the college admission process. Each college and university within the state implements policy and monitors progress towards the goals outlined by the CCHE. Ultimately, the CCHE hopes to see percentage or numeric increases of underrepresented groups in colleges and universities across the state of Colorado. Best practices for institutions of higher education are also outlined, and require Colorado colleges and universities to develop a diversity plan and submit annual reports outlining their diversity related achievements. With the goal of increasing post-secondary education opportunities for disadvantaged students, the Commission requested state funded support of pre-collegiate programs (CCHE, 1998). Since 1989, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education has reviewed diversity reports, focusing upon the representation of minority faculty, staff, and students in institutions of higher education throughout the state of Colorado. In 1998, the data collected in these reports highlighted the continued underrepresentation of minorities in higher education as compared to their percentages in the state population; though there has been improvement (see Tables III.1, VIII.1, X.1), this trend continues today (CCHE, 1998; CDE, 2011).

Beyond Affirmative Action

The *Brown* (1954) decision formed the legal basis for allowing minority students to seek admission to White colleges and universities (Anderson, J., 2002). The use of affirmative action in higher education, once widely supported and utilized, was later

scrutinized because opponents believed minority students were not prepared to perform and achieve in the post-secondary setting, and because the policy appeared to discriminate against White applicants (Anderson, J., 2002). According to a study conducted by Bowen and Bok (1998), both former Presidents of highly selective post-secondary institutions, the use of affirmative action allows admission officers to admit students based upon a variety of “merits,” instead of focusing solely upon grades and test scores which have proven inherently biased against African Americans and other minorities throughout our history.

The data collected in the study by Bowen and Bok (2002) reveals that minority students admitted under affirmative action programs have attained success on college campuses. As a result of the success of affirmative action programs, a backlash against these programs quickly mounted (Bowen & Bok, 2002). One explanation for the backlash is described as a result of the fierce and competitive nature of the college admissions process. Competing for limited spots at top notch colleges and universities around the United States, students applying for admission to the most highly selective schools cling to every possibility of earning a spot in the class, though the majority of post-secondary schools are not competitive and admit the majority of students that apply (Bowen & Bok, 2002). Given the ongoing controversy surrounding race conscious admission programs at colleges and universities, it may be time to look beyond such policies in the field of education (Busenberg & Smith, 1997; Garcia, 1997, Ibarra, 2001).

Garcia (1997), among other scholars (Busenberg & Smith, 1997; Ibarra, 2001), believes in the power of policies such as affirmative action in transforming the face of institutions of higher education, yet she is also aware that in light of recent legislation,

affirmative-action policies are in jeopardy of being discarded by colleges and universities across the United States. She understands the role colleges and universities must play to preserve the benefits of affirmative action and suggests,

Institutions of higher education must take a more active role in shaping public policy. Inattention to our opponents, negligence in communicating our position to the public, and a failure to document and convey our results has contributed to the current state of affairs in which our commitment to inclusion and education for all is being forcefully challenged. (Garcia, 1997, p. 252)

Colleges and universities are called upon to define affirmative action and actively implement affirmative-action programs and policies. Busenberg and Smith (1997) admit that affirmative-action has not been as effective in integrating the higher education system as once hoped or believed, “but given the legislative initiatives and the customs of institutions, it has at least been a sincere attempt to keep colleges and universities publically accountable” (p. 169).

Ibarra (2001), a minority leader and professor in higher education, looks beyond affirmative action and accepts the challenges faced by colleges and universities in attracting minorities to systems of higher education. He draws attention to the importance of the educational pipeline: “Time-honored solutions for combating these inequities rely on three essential ingredients: access, retention, and increasing the critical mass of historically underrepresented populations” (p. 8). Affirmative-action policies and programs may lead to an increase of historically underrepresented students on college campuses, but access and retention are vital pieces of the puzzle, which affirmative-action policies do not necessarily directly impact. Colleges and universities, as well as primary and secondary schools, must invest in efforts to provide educational access to minorities and find successful means of retention. Providing access to institutions of post-

secondary education includes a need for adequate preparation of students across the K-12 system and active college orientation and admissions programs, while retention of students depends upon appropriate and adequate funding of scholarship programs, academic support, advising programs, and cultural support programs (Ibarra, 2001). In essence, affirmative-action policies and programs will not transform the face of higher education if race-conscious admission programs operate in isolation; institutions of higher education must change their approach to educating students if they ever hope to become inclusive institutions of learning in our society.

In the conclusion of her book, Garcia (1997) argues,

At this point in our history, especially in education, we must forcefully and vigorously engage in the battle for the survival of affirmative action policies if we are to be members of a just and democratic society. To us it is clear that until we have reached equality for all of our citizens, affirmative action must be maintained. (p. 249)

The future of the legal use of race conscious admission policies in higher education is uncertain, but colleges and universities play a crucial role in maintaining these programs and policies. Garcia offers suggestions to institutions of higher education, what she calls “strategies for a new era” (p. 251). These strategies include the following: (a) calling attention to the reality of the continued existence of discrimination in our country, (b) encouraging open discussions about the ongoing discrimination, (c) calling upon colleges and universities to define affirmative action on their own terms, (d) reviewing higher education admission criteria, (e) encouraging faculty to conduct research concerning the use of affirmative action and the advantages of diverse campuses, (f) collaborating with K-12 systems to ensure adequate preparation of students, (g) recognizing all sides of the affirmative-action debate, and (h) encouraging opponents of affirmative action to defend

their actions for change. With these suggestions, Garcia hopes to propel the higher education system toward the day when color-blind admissions may be possible. Until that day, educational leaders, stakeholders, and members of society at large have the responsibility to provide opportunities for the advancement of all students.

In this dissertation, I attempt to utilize some of these strategies outlined by Garcia (1997), in particular to call attention to the reality of the continued existence of discrimination in one state, Colorado, at one institution of higher education, the University of Colorado Boulder to contribute to the ongoing discussions about issues with race and diversity in our education system taking place throughout our country. As a case study of policies and practices surrounding race and diversity to facilitate minority student access initiated at the University of Colorado Boulder, it may provide insight into how some of Garcia's (1997) strategies, "beyond affirmative-action," may or may not impact the university and surrounding community and ensure equal access and the success of minority students with hopes of pursuing a post-secondary education. It is essential for institutions of higher education to recognize the permanence of racism throughout their systems and this understanding begins with uncovering our country's history with discrimination. In the next chapter, Colorado's discriminatory history is discussed in further detail.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF RACE AND DIVERSITY IN COLORADO

As established in the previous chapter, debates about the value of diversity and the role of affirmative action in creating more diverse educational communities in institutions of higher education continue today, more than 50 years after the introduction of the Civil Rights Movement and race-conscious educational policies. Due to the prevalence of these discussions, problems in education are often examined along racial lines because racial disparities are vast and readily identifiable across the K-16 educational system in the United States. These disparities, often identified as differences in academic achievement and high school and college graduation rates, contribute to broader social and economic problems that continue to hinder progress in our country and across the globe.

The role of educational policies focused on race in higher education continues to be placed under the microscope. As these policies, namely the use of affirmative action, continue to be questioned, clarifying their intention is ever more important. Further, race-conscious policies that aim to remedy a past that includes limiting minority access to educational opportunities also become ever more important (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). For example, the Supreme Court has supported race-conscious policies such as affirmative action in the past and in the present day to remedy the effects of past discrimination and foster diversity (Pursely, 2003). As a state or university operates under the premise of remediating past discrimination, the ability to present “direct evidence that the effects of past discrimination within the institution in question continue to adversely

affect people” may prove to play a crucial role in successfully defending race-conscious educational policies, such as affirmative action (Pursely, 2003, p.1).

Because this dissertation focuses upon the history of race at the University of Colorado Boulder, it is important to gain a deeper and broader understanding of Colorado’s historical treatment of minorities. Colorado has not been isolated from issues surrounding race and discrimination and, as Delgado and Stefancic (1999) note, “if the record discloses that a state such as ours, with a self-image that includes openness and fair treatment for all, nevertheless has much to live down, the case of affirmative action everywhere strengthens” (p. 2).

The debate over the necessity and fairness of policies such as affirmative action has been thoroughly documented, as the discussion in the previous chapter revealed. As a result of the challenges posed to the use of race-conscious policies, the scope of affirmative action and its use in higher education has been limited by legal decisions. In the most recent cases heard by the Supreme Court, *Gratz* and *Grutter* vs. *Bollinger* (2003), both filed against the University of Michigan, the defense proposed that race-conscious policies promoted diversity. Writing prior to the decisions made in the Michigan cases, Delgado and Stefancic (1999) hypothesized that beyond promoting diversity as a compelling interest, remedying past wrongs may be the only state interest that can justify the use of race-conscious policies like affirmative action. Given the potential allowance by the 14th Amendment for colleges and universities to utilize race-conscious programs and policies to make amends upon demonstrating past discrimination against minorities on their campuses, it seems useful for colleges and universities to delve deeply into their pasts to identify and prove specific and particular discriminatory

practices and to create plans for remediation that may be necessary to mitigate the past wrongdoing (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999).

Understanding the history of one's own nation, state, and community is a vital part of correcting wrongs that occurred in the past, solving problems that continue to exist into the present, and making plans to move forward to address pressing social and educational issues into the future (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). Knowledge of the history of race relations in each individual state throughout the US can provide insight and understanding into the function of, as well as the mindset and mentality of, the people who inhabit this particular place. Given the prominent role that race plays in discussions, historical and current, on a national level, particularly in regard to education, examining the role of race at the state level can prove informative as racial disparities in education are found to exist across the country (Kozol, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Marx, 2004; Swail et al., 2003; Tierney, 1996; Valverde, 2004).

The Territorial Days

Colorado's history of race and discrimination is certainly more complex, detailed, and well-rounded than the account provided by Delgado and Stefancic (1999), but the overview they provide highlights poignant and relevant issues concerning race and discrimination in Colorado. Colorado was described as a rough and brutal place to live in the early days, as White settlers flocked to Colorado in the 1850s in search of gold, driving Indians off of the most desirable lands and eventually onto reservations (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999).

Sand Creek. The Sand Creek Massacre (about 40 miles north of Fort Lyon in southeastern Colorado), and a lesser-known attack of a peaceful Indian camp at Buffalo

Springs (near Fairplay), involved a Major David Nichols, among others, in 1864 (Abbott, Leonard, & Noel, 2005; Massengale, 2009). In 1961, a residence hall located on the University of Colorado Boulder campus was named in honor of Major Nichols; it wasn't until 1987 that a UCB history professor, Patricia Limerick, was asked to investigate the role Major Nichols played in the slaying of Arapaho and Cheyenne natives, and the residence hall name was eventually changed to Cheyenne-Arapaho Hall (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999; Massengale, 2009). Limerick's research was seen as controversial, but she asserted, "the name was an affront to Indian students on campus," and the change was best for the entire community (Massengale, 2009). Perhaps as a result of the historical mistreatment of Native Americans in Colorado, their population in the state (1.6%) and on the UCB campus (.8%) is miniscule.

Blacks. Colorado's Black population was small from the beginning of the state's existence, constituting only two percent "of the state's population between 1870 and 1920", yet their legal status and treatment reflected broader national trends as Blacks were denied the right to vote, and anti-miscegenation laws were included in the original territorial constitution and remained in existence until 1954 (Abbott et al., 2005, p. 216; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). Further, though never mandated by law Black and White school children were segregated and educated in separate schools until the latter half of the twentieth century (Keyes, 1973). Abbott et al. (2005) write about the successful fight by African Americans in Central City and Denver to enroll their children in the city's schools. Accordingly, though issues with segregation and integration throughout Colorado still surface today, "In 1873, the Denver School Board approved integration, a principle incorporated into the state constitution two years later" (Abbott et al., 2005, p.

213). In terms of quality of life, when comparing death rates, school attendance rates, and literacy rates, “statistical indicators showed that Colorado’s African Americans were well-off compared to their counterparts elsewhere” (Abbott, 2005, p. 218).

Asians. Around 1869, the Chinese came to Colorado to work in the mines and railroads, drawing negative attention immediately from the local newspaper, *The Rocky Mountain News*. When the *News* accused the residents of Denver’s small Chinatown “of operating opium dens, gambling parlors, and houses of prostitution,” readers of the paper took the matter into their own hands instigating the Hop Ally Riot which resulted in the destruction of homes and the deaths of several Chinese residents (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 6). After experiencing racial discrimination from the very beginning of their presence in Colorado, the state’s population of Chinese “dwindled to 291 by 1920” (Abbott et al., 2005, p. 208). Delgado and Stefancic (1999) highlight that even in 1969, the Chinese made up a small proportion of Colorado’s population, and Asians constitute only 2.9% of the state’s population today (United States Census Bureau, 2013).

Other minorities. Italians and Mexicans also were treated poorly by early Anglo settlers; lynching incidents of members of these minority groups are documented in Colorado’s history (Abbott et al., 2005; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). During the territorial days, minorities were hardly treated with the same dignity or provided with the same opportunities as other settlers but were not necessarily mistreated because of their racial identities (i.e., Black, Hispanic, or Chinese). Seemingly, these groups of people were mistreated because they were competing for the same benefits, jobs, land and development of new industries that those with more power (i.e. White settlers) felt were theirs (Abbott et al., 2005; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). As World War I ended, “friction

increased as returning servicemen and women of color began to assert their rights” (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 7).

The Klan Period

Colorado became a state in 1876, but statehood did nothing to alter race relations. Indeed, by the 1920s, racism in Colorado took on an ugly new face with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, which “announced itself in the *Denver Times*: ‘We proclaim to the lawless element of the City and County of Denver and the State of Colorado that we are not only active now, but we were here yesterday, we are here today, and we shall be here forever’” (Abbott et al., 2005, p. 271; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999) As will be detailed in Chapter IV, the Klan period intersected with incidents that occurred specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder under President Norlin. The Denver National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter formed in 1915 and began organizing under the leadership of Dr. Clarence Holmes, and during this same time the Ku Klux Klan began organizing, too (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). According to the accounts upon which Delgado and Stefancic (1999) constructed their research, in the 1920s “Colorado was virtually taken over by the Klan” (p. 8).

Under the leadership of Grand Dragon John Galen Locke, membership in the KKK in Colorado climbed to include as many as 55,000 members at the peak of its powerful existence (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). With elections looming in Denver in 1923, the Klan exploited social conditions and a corrupt and inefficient police force, promising to clean up the city, and took over the city government with the election of Benjamin F. Stapleton as mayor. Publically, Stapleton “condemned the Klan” but privately, he was a good friend of John Galen Locke (Abbott et al, 2005; Delgado &

Stefancic, 1999, p. 8). Ultimately, as a result of this relationship, Klansmen held great power in Denver as the Mayor, Chief of Police, and Justices of Peace represented and protected their interests (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 9). In 1924, members of the Klan won every state office, other than superintendent of public schools, and under Governor Clarence Morley they maintained their control and power. As Governor, Morley threatened University of Colorado Boulder President, George Norlin, saying that he would “cut appropriations for the University if Norlin did not dismiss all Catholic and Jewish faculty” (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 10).

In the 1920s, “Denver’s population stood at 256,000 persons, with only 6075 Black residents” (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 11). Given their small numbers, Blacks living in Denver were isolated in, “an old and deteriorating neighborhood”, still known today as Five Points (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 11). Race Street, which still runs through the city today, was identified as a “locally understood racial barrier” early on in Denver’s history, and measures to isolate and segregate the Black minority from the White majority led to discriminatory housing practices that has had a lasting impact in the city and county of Denver (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 7). Any efforts made to integrate movie theaters, schools, social events, businesses, were met with strong resistance and threats from the Klan. The Klan was unable to maintain its power and control in the long run, reaching its peak of power in 1924, but undoubtedly, “the Klan’s period of power had lingering effects in Colorado” (Abbott et al., 2005; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 12). After 1924, Abbott et al. (2005) explain that “inability to translate fear into legislation and internal squabbles” led to a decline in the numbers of Klansmen in Denver and ultimately to their loss of power (pp. 275-6). However, Delgado and

Stefancic (1999) highlight reports of “housing discrimination and police brutality throughout the 1950s and 1960s” and into the 1990s and 2000s, evidence of the permanence of racism practiced and promoted by Klan members (p. 13).

Racism during the Post-War Years

As an aside to the general direction of this dissertation, it is impossible to overlook the role Colorado played after Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japan on December 7, 1941, sparking US entry into World War II. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, displacing nearly 113,000 people of Japanese ancestry, more than two-thirds citizens of the United States, to internment camps constructed in the Western United States (Burton, Farrell, Lord, & Lord, 1999). One of the ten internment camps established to confine the Japanese was constructed near the town of Granada, in southeastern Colorado, not far from the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. The Government named the camp “Amache,” for the daughter of a Cheyenne chief killed at Sand Creek (Burton, et al., 1999). At its peak, 7,318 Japanese evacuees resided at the Granada internment camp, which was opened in August of 1942 and closed in October of 1945, a few weeks after the war with Japan came to an end (Colorado State Archives, 2006). In 1989, the US Government apologized to the Japanese-Americans and offered “them a redress of \$20,000 for each surviving evacuee” (Colorado State Archives, 2006).

In light of the lasting impact of the Klan, discrimination and racism directed toward African-Americans, Mexicans, Chinese and Japanese minority group members are documented into the 1950s and beyond (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). Evidence of discriminatory practices was evident in Colorado’s law against interracial marriage,

which endured until 1954. Members of minority groups were not served at restaurants and hotels, were segregated during mass, were not allowed to open businesses, and were not allowed to swim in the same pools as Whites. Though the number and racial make-up of faculty members is not the focus of the current study, as is documented by Delgado and Stefancic (1999) and perhaps already widely known, “The numbers of Blacks and Mexicans in the professions and at the state universities and colleges was miniscule” (p. 13).

To address concerns about racism and discrimination, Denver’s newly elected and liberal Mayor, Quigg Newton, established a task force on human relations in 1947. The Denver Commission on Human Relations gathered oral stories, conducted surveys, and issued reports to gain deeper cross-cultural understanding (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). Upon documenting discrimination, the commission shared its discoveries: (a) Minorities, especially Blacks, were often denied access to health and medical services; (b) minorities were highly residentially confined; (c) minorities were victims of high degrees of job discrimination; and, (d) minorities experienced police brutality and were blamed for committing a disproportionate number of crimes (Delgado and Stefancic, 1999). In-depth discussions surrounding a history of racism and discrimination in all of these areas, as documented by the commission, are well beyond the scope of this study, but certainly provide greater insight into the history of Colorado’s treatment of minority group members.

The Stranglehold of Racism in Colorado

The state of Colorado’s politics and Colorado’s system of education sheds light on the racism practiced and tolerated in Colorado in the past and into the present. As

Colorado's largest minority group, constituting 20.9% of the state's population today, Hispanics in particular seemingly suffered more discrimination than Blacks (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999; United States Census Bureau, 2013). Delgado and Stefancic (1999) offer a sociological perspective as an explanation of this discrimination disparity: "where there are two significant minorities in an area, the larger minority usually suffers more discrimination" (p. 25). Hispanics have been and continue to be Colorado's largest minority group; even so, Hispanics have rarely been elected as public servants.

According to Delgado and Stefancic (1999) in words that still ring true today, "No person of color has ever served as Governor of Colorado, and only a handful of Blacks and Hispanics in the state legislature" (p. 25). Delgado and Stefancic (1999) further document the miniscule number of minorities who have served as Mayor of Denver: two African-Americans, Wellington Webb and recently elected Michael B. Hancock and one Latino, Federico Pena. Ken Salazar, most recently serving as the United States Secretary of the Interior under President Barack Obama, was elected as United States Senator from Colorado in 2004. Salazar also served as Colorado Attorney General from 1999 to 2005, and was only one of two Hispanics to be nominated as US Senator since 1977 (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). However, recent progress cannot be overlooked as the Colorado legislature that opened this past January of 2013 welcomed "more Latinos and blacks than in recent years, and a record number of gay lawmakers" (Bartels & Lee, 2012). Five Blacks are currently serving in the House, as well as twelve Latinos, and eight gay lawmakers (Bartels & Lee, 2012).

Beyond politics, throughout Colorado's history, educational opportunities afforded to members of minority groups have also differed from those offered to White

students. As discussed in depth in Chapter II, in *Keyes v. Denver Public Schools* (1969), the US Supreme Court found “intentional, governmentally backed segregation in the Denver schools,” and ordered the city’s schools to desegregate (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999, p. 27). As a result of the Court ruling, White families fled Denver for the suburbs in an effort to avoid busing and other desegregation efforts (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999). Even with de jure segregation banned, race continues to be a factor in politics and schools across the state of Colorado. Across Colorado and the Southwest, historic and recent efforts to close the Hispanic achievement gap have proven elementary and unsuccessful. The funding of public schools across the state of Colorado also is a major source of contention, as the reliance on property taxes to fund school systems produces massive discrepancies between poor and wealthy districts (Delgado & Stefancic, 1999): Poorer districts tend to be mostly minority, while wealthier districts tend to be predominantly White.

Educating Coloradoans: A Deeper Look

In the United States, individual states are largely responsible for ensuring educational access and quality for students residing in the state (The National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education [NCPPE], 2006). The NCPPE (2006) grades states on their performance in six categories including: (a) preparation of students for education and training beyond high school, (b) participation in educational and training opportunities beyond high school, (c) affordability of higher education, (d) completion of certificates or degrees by students in a timely manner, (e) benefits the state receives from having a highly educated population, and (f) student learning as a result of education and training beyond high school. A letter grade is assigned to each state for each of the six

performance categories. In 2006, Colorado received the following grades for each of the categories: (a) B+, (b) A-, (c) F, (d) B, (e) A-, and (f) Incomplete (NCPPE, 2006).

Based on the information compiled in the NCPPE (2006) report, Colorado schools appeared to prepare students fairly well to succeed in education and training after high school. However, 8% of Colorado students in 2006 completed the General Education Development (GED) diploma in lieu of a high school diploma. This was one of the highest percentages of GED recipients in the nation. In terms of participation, many opportunities exist for students in Colorado to enroll in education and training opportunities after high school, and approximately 84% of students take advantage of the post-secondary options available to them throughout the state of Colorado (NCPPE, 2006). Though post-secondary participation rates seem good, nearly 63% of Colorado's high school graduates enroll in college, the gap in the rate of college participation between Whites and members of other ethnic groups has widened. For example, data collected and disseminated by the Colorado Department of Education in 2011, revealed that 78.2% of Colorado's Asian high school graduates enroll in colleges or universities throughout the state, while only 47.6% of Hispanic graduates choose to do the same. High school graduation rates also vary across racial groups as CDE's most recent statistics convey that while only 60.1% of Hispanic students graduated from high school, 81.7% of Asian students graduated (Colorado Department of Education, 2011). Similar trends surface when examining six-year college graduation rates across the state, as Asians boast the highest college graduation rate of 61.2% and African Americans, at 33.2%, are least likely to complete college (Colorado Department of Education, 2011). Unfortunately, due to prevalent and complex funding issues which are discussed further

in Chapter IX, college in Colorado has become less affordable for middle-class and lower-income families. Even so, though educational opportunities after high school are costly, a high proportion of Colorado students do complete certificates and degrees, and the gap between Whites and Hispanics completing certificates and degrees in Colorado has narrowed within the last decade (NCPPE, 2006).

The report of Colorado's progress by the NCPPE (2006) highlighted several gains in Colorado's state system of education. However, because of noticeable disparities in high school graduation rates, college enrollment rates, and college graduation rates, race continued to surface as an area upon which Colorado's institutions of higher education could focus and improve. The 2006 report highlighted the racial gap in educational attainment levels between minority groups (Hispanics/Latinos and African Americans) and White students. In Colorado, citizens and educational stakeholders continue to share concern over the "Colorado Paradox"--that "Colorado ranks among the top states in percentage of population with a college degree [but] the state ranks very low in educating its native Colorado population" (Corash, Baker, & Nawrocki, 2008, p. 7). The paradox represents the success rates of all of Colorado's students, but the state government recognizes that the lower college admission and graduation rates of African American and Hispanic students compared with White and Asian American students in Colorado are an area of great concern.

Evidence of the racial achievement gap in Colorado's institutions of higher education have led to the development of this study which focuses upon the history of diverse student access to the University of Colorado Boulder. Data collected and analyzed from Colorado's flagship university, the University of Colorado Boulder

(UCB), provides evidence of Colorado's racial achievement gap, highlighted by the lower college admission and graduation rates of minority (African American and Hispanic) students when compared to White and Asian students. Table III.1 provides a quick glimpse into the enrollment levels of individuals across racial groups, from 2004-2009, throughout the state of Colorado and specifically at UCB. This is the most recent report of its kind available to date.

When comparing enrollment levels of students in institutions of higher education in the state of Colorado across racial groups to the population estimates provided by the United States Census Bureau (2013), the gaps are readily noticeable. Focusing solely on UCB, 77.9% of students enrolled at the university in 2009 were identified as White, Non-Hispanic, yet this same group represents only 69.7% of the state's population and 63.4% of the entire US population. Blacks and Hispanics comprised only 1.7% and 6.7% of the student population at the university respectively, while comprising 4.3% and 20.9% of Colorado's state population and 13.1% and 16.7% of the US population (United States Census Bureau, 2013).

Asian students are often left out of the discussion of educational and achievement gaps because they tend to be overrepresented at institutions of higher education as is the case at the University of Colorado Boulder. Asian students comprised 6.3% of the student population at Boulder and only 2.7% of the state's total population and 4.5% of the US population in 2009. These statistics indicate a continuing underlying problem in Colorado and the nation (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lee, 2002; Parker, 1998; Perna, 2000) and support contentions that, "racism is normal in American society" and is often overlooked (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 7).

Table III.1

In-State, total, and UCB enrollment levels of racial/ethnic groups, 2004-2009

Enrollment Level	Race/Ethnicity	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
In State Undergraduate	Asian	4.4	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.8
	Black, Non-Hispanic	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.8
	Hispanic	10.2	10.3	10.3	10.5	10.7	10.8
	Native American	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.3
	Minority Subtotal	19	19.3	19.4	20	20.3	20.7
	White, Non-Hispanic	75.7	75	74.3	74.5	73.2	71.7
	NR Alien	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1
	Unknown	5.2	5.6	6.2	5.4	6.4	7.4
Total Undergraduate	Asian	4.3	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.6
	Black, Non-Hispanic	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.6
	Hispanic	9.2	9.4	9.4	9.6	9.7	9.9
	Native American	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Minority Subtotal	18.1	18.5	18.7	19.2	19.4	19.9
	White, Non-Hispanic	75.6	74.9	74.1	74.3	72.8	71.2
	NR Alien	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.5	1.4
	Unknown	5.2	5.6	6.1	5.5	6.3	7.5
UCB	Asian	6.0	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.1	6.3
	Black, Non-Hispanic	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.7
	Hispanic	5.9	6	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.3
	Native American	.8	.7	.8	.7	.7	.8
	Minority Subtotal	14.2	14.6	14.8	14.8	14.8	15.1
	White, Non-Hispanic	78.6	78.3	78.2	78.4	78.3	77.9
	NR Alien	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.6
	Unknown	5.9	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.4

Note. Data represents all Colorado Public Four Year Institutions of Higher Education. Student Unit Record Data System (SURDS) Enrollment Fall Term 2007-2009, 2010.

Colorado Commission on Higher Education

As colleges and universities across the state of Colorado attempted to no avail to address issues centered on race, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE) was established in 1965 by the legislature. The CCHE was given increased authority over the state's system of education with the passage of House Bill 1187 in 1985, to ensure educational access and quality for Colorado residents and students in the state's institutions of higher education (CDE, n.d.a). In 2008, Senate bill 08-018 created a separation of the Colorado Department of Higher Education (DHE) from the Colorado Commission on Higher Education, in essence clarifying the individual roles of the separate entities. Prior to 2008, the Commission was recognized as a division of the Colorado Department of Higher Education. Though no longer operating as a division of the DHE, the Commission continues to focus upon providing "access to high-quality, affordable education for all Colorado's residents that is student-centered, quality driven and performance-based" (CDE, 2012a).

Ten commissioners, representing the geographic and political diversity of the state of Colorado, currently serve on the Commission (CDE, 2012b). An advisory committee, including both legislative and non-legislative members, also oversees the CCHE (CDE, n.d.b) The CCHE is responsible for developing long-range plans for Colorado's evolving state system of higher education. According to the Colorado Department of Higher Education Website, 28 public institutions of higher education currently are located throughout the state of Colorado. Thirteen of the 28 schools are four-year institutions, and 15 are two-year institutions. Private institutions and occupational schools also operate in Colorado but are not overseen by the CCHE. Of the

students enrolled in the 28 public institutions in Colorado, 90.3% are undergraduate students; 85.5% of students enrolled in Colorado's public institutions of higher education are Colorado residents (CDE, 2010).

CCHE Admissions Standards Policy (2011)

The Colorado Commission on Higher Education has general policy making and oversight authority over the public institutions of higher education, and that authority has been exercised by the commission to establish policies to recruit and retain minority students to Colorado's public colleges and universities. As published in the CCHE Admission Standards Policy (2011), the CCHE aims to "encourage diversity by supporting the admission of applicants from underrepresented groups, applicants with special talents, and applicants with disabilities" (p. I-F-4). One of the responsibilities of the CCHE that directly correlates to the stated goal of encouraging diversity on public college and university campuses across the state of Colorado, is the development of statewide enrollment policies and admission standards to each of the 28 public institutions throughout the state of Colorado.

As stated in the Admission Standards Policy (CCHE, 2011), which has undergone many revisions and was most recently updated on January 7, 2011, "the original policy was adopted by the Commission in 1986, implemented the following year, and established state-level admission standards for both first-time freshmen and transfer students at each of the Colorado baccalaureate public institutions" (CCHE, 2011, p. I-F-1). The admissions standards set forth by the CCHE represent minimum requirements for admission to the state's 4-year public institutions; the 2-year community colleges operate under open admission policies, allowing all high school graduates and non-traditional students to enroll regardless of high school grade point average, high school preparation,

and standardized test scores. CCHE outlines specific admissions standards, largely based upon high school grade point average, standardized test scores, and high school coursework; students who meet the outlined standards are considered as good candidates for admission, though their admission is not guaranteed, “as institutions consider a broad range of factors in making admissions decisions” (CCHE, 2008, 2011).

The CCHE follows the law described in detail in the Admissions Standards Policy (CCHE, 2011) to determine and differentiate admission and program standards, consistent with the unique institutional roles and mission of each institution as described in the statute. Admission standards for first-time admitted freshmen students and transfer students are established by the Colorado Commission on Higher Education, in consultation with the governing boards of each institution at all state-supported baccalaureate and graduate institutions of higher education in Colorado. A combination of standardized test scores, high school grade point average, and high school class rank, are utilized to differentiate freshmen applicants at each of the public colleges and universities across the state. High school class rank and grade point average are referred to as high school performance measures, and ACT and/or SAT scores are labeled as standardized performance measures. High school performance measures are combined with standardized performance measures into a single index score to evaluate “the achievement records of applicants” (CCHE, 2011, p. 13). The Freshmen Admission Index is widely used by students, high school staff, and community members to guide the Colorado resident college application process (CCHE, 2011). The specific minimum index scores required to be considered for admission at each Colorado public four-year institution are summarized in Table III.2. The maximum index score is 146, which would

correspond with a student who has earned a 4.0 grade point average and a perfect score of 36 on the ACT. The CCHE Admission Eligibility Index is also included in Appendix A.

Table III.2.

CCHE Colorado Public College/University Admission Index

Institution	Freshman Admission Index
Adams State College	80
Colorado School of Mines	110
Colorado State University	101
Colorado State University-Pueblo	86
Fort Lewis College	92
Mesa State College	85
Metropolitan State College of Denver	76
University of Colorado Boulder	103
University of Colorado at Colorado Springs	92
University of Colorado at DHSC*	93
University of Northern Colorado	94
Western State College	80

*Now called the University of Colorado Denver.

Differences in the index scores as outlined are explained by the distinctive institutional role and mission each state-supported institution of higher education in Colorado has been assigned by the CCHE, as determined by their statutory guidelines (CCHE, 2011). Because the University of Colorado Boulder is the focus of this dissertation, it is important to understand the specific role and mission the university has been assigned by the CCHE “as a comprehensive graduate research university with selective admission standards” (CCHE, 2011, p. 3). Though the University of Colorado Denver campus, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs campus, Colorado State University, and the University of Northern Colorado also are described as having selective admissions standards, the University of Colorado Boulder has a higher admission index than these other institutions, as detailed in Table III.2 (CCHE, 2011). The Colorado School of Mines has the highest admission index eligibility score of all

public institutions of higher education in the state of Colorado, suggesting it is the most competitive of the public colleges and universities in the state (CCHE, 2011).

Beginning in the spring of 2008, the CCHE changed the admissions standards by requiring applicants to prove their “college readiness” through the completion of minimum, rigorous high school course requirements. The Colorado Higher Education Admission Requirements (HEAR) are based upon college readiness research that illustrates high school preparation across specific academic areas, at increasing levels of rigor, positively impacts the success (i.e. completion of the baccalaureate degree in four years) rates of students enrolled at post-secondary institutions (CCHE, 2011). The HEAR requirements were increased for the first time in Colorado for students who began college in the fall of 2010. Since these changes were implemented in the fall of 2010, high school graduates are now required to complete an additional year of math, and at least one year of a foreign/world language. In the fall of 2012, Colorado high school graduates were required to meet the following HEAR to be considered as “college ready” candidates for in-state college admission: 4 years of English, 4 years of Math, 3 years of Natural Science (including 2 years of a lab-based science), 3 years of Social Studies (including 1 year of US or World History), 1 year of foreign/world language, and 2 years of academic electives (CCHE, 2008, Admission Eligibility Index, 2008-2010). The HEAR differ from high school graduation requirements across the state. School districts throughout Colorado are responsible for determining graduation requirements for students and providing appropriate course offerings across academic fields of study to prepare students for post-secondary education opportunities.

The Admissions Standards Policy is reviewed by the CCHE every three years to determine if the policy is appropriate, and to assess its continued alignment with state goals and priorities (CCHE, 2011). To monitor admission rates of students at the various baccalaureate institutions, each institution is required to report the number of undergraduate freshmen and transfer applicants using the Student Unit Record Data System (SURDS) Undergraduate Applicant File (CCHE, 2011). The data submitted by institutions to the CCHE via SURDS is utilized to monitor the compliance of each institution with the admission standards set forth by the Commission, and “to evaluate the impact of the policy on institutions and students annually” (CCHE, 2011, p. 2). The diversity of the student body at institutions throughout the state of Colorado continues to be an area of focus and concern for the Commission. In 1998, the Commission established a Policy on Affirmative Action to address concerns over Colorado’s racial achievement and educational attainment gap.

Policy on Affirmative Action

According to the Policy on Affirmative Action (CCHE, 1998), the Commission has reviewed reports on minority faculty, staff, and student representation in institutions of higher education throughout the state of Colorado since 1989. Reports consistently revealed the underrepresentation of minorities in higher education throughout Colorado when compared to their percentages in the state population. The Policy on Affirmative Action (CCHE, 1998) was developed under the direction of the General Assembly to reflect the Commission’s commitment to increasing diversity, and to establish a model of continual improvement outlining an adjustment process to be used if institutions did not show improvement. As stated in the Policy (CCHE, 1998), “continuous improvement

may be shown in percentage increases or numeric increases of underrepresented groups. It may also be shown in... other forms, which represent best practices... to increase the presence of underrepresented groups” (p. I-Q-2).

Since its inception, The Policy on Affirmative Action (CCHE, 1998) has required all institutions of higher education in the state of Colorado to submit annual diversity reports to the CCHE. The CCHE has used, and continues to use, these reports to summarize information about the state’s higher education system that includes the most recent five-year trend data on the percentages and number of minority students, staff, and faculty attending and working at the twenty-eight public universities and colleges across Colorado (CCHE, 1998). The trend data includes specific information, including undergraduate resident headcount, total undergraduate headcount, graduate resident headcount, and total graduate headcount. Retention and graduation rates of students across minority student groups are also included in these reports, as well as information about transfer students and degree recipients from minority groups. Though not included in the discussion presented in this dissertation, data on minority faculty and staff are also summarized in these reports. An example of the type of data tracked by the CCHE, as copied from SURDS is included in Table III.3. This table documents the enrollment trends of student from various ethnic backgrounds between 2000-2011.

Table III.3

Fall Enrollments by Institution, Student Level, Fall terms 2009-2011

Ethnicity	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Asian											5,898	5,645
Asian or Pacific Islander	5,088	5,157	5,391	5,486	5,683	5,690	5,875	6,094	6,150	6,467		
Black or African American	3,251	3,362	3,439	3,571	3,717	3,836	3,852	4,059	4,246	4,736	4,945	5,092
Hawaiian or Pacific Islander											196	250
Hispanic	10,075	10,338	10,619	11,152	11,602	11,703	11,784	12,194	12,410	13,267	15,894	17,702
More than one Race/Ethnicity (non-Hispanic)											2,063	3,199
Native American or Alaskan Native	1,821	1,841	1,921	1,991	2,082	2,127	2,200	2,287	2,293	2,390	1,826	1,767
Non-Resident Alien	3,612	3,821	4,016	3,636	3,255	2,963	3,136	2,706	3,987	4,007	4,396	5,024
Unknown Ethnicity	4,990	5,705	6,151	6,811	7,306	7,768	8,620	7,722	9,118	11,111	8,962	8,611
White, non-Hispanic	92,437	94,504	97,566	100,006	100,964	99,776	98,644	99,913	98,779	101,771	105,038	105,085

The Commission's Policy on Affirmative Action (1998) describes best practices to achieve a diverse student body, faculty, and staff members at each public institution in Colorado. The best practices require each college and university to develop a yearly diversity plan which addresses long-term and short-term goals focused upon increasing the enrollment, retention, and graduation rates of minority students. Each institution is further required to issue an annual diversity report and monitor their individual progress towards achieving specific diversity goals. The Policy (CCHE, 1998) outlines a five-year review process, overseen by the Commission, to monitor institutional progress towards meeting diversity goals. As described, institutions that do not make progress or show improvement are subject to an external review process initiated by the CCHE (CCHE, 1998). The purpose of the external review team is to make recommendations to improve institutional performance, and present their recommendations as well as a plan of action to the CCHE.

Race-Conscious Educational Policy in Colorado

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education reinstated their Affirmative Action Policy in 1998 (CCHE) as anti-affirmative action initiatives made their way onto state ballots and were ultimately adopted in California in 1996, in Washington in 1998, and in Michigan in 2006. In 2008, Coloradoans narrowly defeated (50.81% to 49.19%) a similar ballot initiative known as Amendment 46: the Colorado Civil Rights Initiative (Buescher, 2008). Adoption of anti-affirmative action initiatives in California, Washington, and Michigan negatively impacted the diversity of student bodies on college campuses, as public higher education institutions in these states "altered their policies and practices to comply with these new

laws” (Saenz, 2008, p. 1). Saenz (2008) highlights data discussing the recent progress of state university systems in Colorado, and at the University of Colorado system in particular, which “slowly increased the percentage of underrepresented minorities in its undergraduate programs over the last seven years [since 2001], from 10% to 12%” (Saenz, 2008, p. 1). In 2008, Amendment 46 posed a major threat to this growth, as California experienced significant dips in minority enrollment upon adoption of similar legislation and is yet to recover (Saenz, 2008).

Bracing for the potential of Amendment 46 finding favor with Colorado voters, the University of Colorado Boulder worked to devise means through which diversity on the campus would be preserved no matter what (Anas, 2008). If Amendment 46 had passed in 2008, more than one hundred donor-sponsored scholarships would have been in jeopardy because of specific connections to race or gender requirements (Anas, 2008). Though the Supreme Court upheld the use of affirmative action policies in *Grutter* (2003), new services such as “geodemographic tagging that identifies and groups students according to neighborhood and high school” are being used by admissions officers in Michigan, striving to maintain diversity on their campuses (Anas, 2008). A graduate student at the University of Colorado Boulder, Matthew N. Gaertner, presented a paper in 2010, in which he “explored new statistical approaches to support class-based affirmative action at CU” (p. 2). In short, Gaertner found, “using a sizeable socioeconomic boost, economic diversity increased compared with a system of race-based affirmative action” (Kahlenberg, 2010).

This new research proves promising in that it may be possible to use measures, other than race specifically, to maintain diverse student bodies in light of the decision to

be handed down by a more conservative Supreme Court in the near future in *Fisher v. Texas* that may end the legal use of race-conscious educational policies such as affirmative action. Gaertner's (2010) results are also alarming and suggestive of the long-lasting, ill-effects of racism and discrimination and illustrate the connection between race and economic policy and opportunity. In the next chapter, the history of race and diversity at the University of Colorado Boulder will be discussed in detail to draw attention to the long-lasting and ill-effects of racism and discrimination at UCB as the university has worked alongside other institutions of higher education to attract a more diverse campus community.

CHAPTER IV

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RACE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER

In an introductory overview of race, ethnicity, and gender² at the University of Colorado, 1876-2002, Hays (n.d.) recalls the egalitarian tradition upon which the University was founded: “CU was established to provide an equal education to men and women . . . The University of Colorado was also an early opponent of Jim Crow practices” (p. 1). Three detailed histories of the University of Colorado have been written by Davis (1965); Allen, Foster, Andrade, Mitterling, and Scamehorn (1976); and James (1979). These histories detailed the changing contexts of the University including its size, demographics, and structure during the first 100 years of its existence. Hays (n.d.) outlined these changes in a brief narrative which described three time periods through which the University was seen to expand dramatically in size; two distinct periods of administration/student relations; and, three distinct periods of race relations in the United States.

Currently, the University of Colorado has three campuses, with the largest campus, Boulder, serving approximately 30,000 undergraduate and graduate students each year. Since 1968, the relationship between the administration and students has evolved and with the end of a period described by James (1979) as “*in locus parentis*,” students today are treated as adults instead of as children seen to be the responsibility of

² Although histories about UCB, like the paper written by Hays, include a discussion of gender, my study does not include a discussion of gender and focuses solely on the role of race and ethnicity.

the University (Hays, n.d.). The University of Colorado has also evolved through three distinct periods of race relations: established in a racially segregated society (1876), emerging through the period of desegregation (1938-1965), and blossoming during the period of integration beginning in the 1970s (Allen, et al., 1976; Davis, 1965; James, 1979). The current chapter focuses primarily upon the University as it was established in a racially segregated society and emerged through the period of desegregation. The remaining chapters focus upon the role of race and diversity as UCB blossomed during the period of integration and beyond. Recognition of race as a pressing issue in American society and across the system of education became relevant as our country worked toward desegregation. Efforts to desegregate various segments of society were met with resistance, and many would suggest were unsuccessful. This resistance can be seen at the University of Colorado Boulder, as well.

The Founding of a State Flagship University

As President George Norlin, quoting Cicero, expressed to graduates in 1939, and as is still expressed to graduates at commencement each year, “Who knows only his own generation always remains a child” (CU Heritage Center, n.d.). This quote is particularly relevant as the purpose of this dissertation is to understand the history of the University in order to transcend its past and transform its future. To analyze and discuss UCB as an institution, and the multitude of issues facing UCB and institutions of higher education across the country today, it is essential to understand the long history of the college and university system in the United States. Allen et al. (1976) include a discussion of the American college and university system in their book, describing how institutions of higher education are organized and function. Universities are described as public, private,

large, and small; they have different academic standards and operate under separate educational philosophies. Higher education has evolved since its beginning in America, growing substantially since the founding of Harvard University, which opened in 1636.

The state university is a term used to describe a subset of institutions of higher education that are “subsidized by state tax dollars, in order to minimize tuition, and its governing board is appointed or elected through the political process” (Allen et al., 1976, p. 10). Throughout our country’s history, the state university evolved, particularly as a result of The Morrill Federal Land-Grant Act of 1862 (Allen et al., 1976). The Morrill Federal Land-Grant Act was introduced by Justin Morrill who wanted to open the doors of higher education institutions to serve a more diverse population, and include a broader, more practical, curriculum. As described by Allen et al. (1976), “The Morrill Act was in fact a federal endowment for higher education”, and as such, at least one university in each state that included a broad range of curricular studies including agriculture and mechanic arts, would receive support from the sale of land grants (p. 11). In the 1870s, Colorado opened an engineering college, an agricultural college, and a university. The School of Mines in Golden, the Agricultural College at Fort Collins, and the University of Colorado Boulder were the three public institutions of higher education to open their doors (Allen et al., 1976; Davis, 1965).

The University of Colorado Boulder, among the others, was founded in “an unpromising environment” characterized by low enrollment, lack of funding, and uncertainty about the Colorado state system of education in general and at the university specifically (Allen et al., 1976, p. 14). After much debate about its location, the land upon which it would be constructed, funding sources, leadership and decision-making bodies,

in the fall of 1877 UCB “began operations in an atmosphere reflecting inadequacy in every major particular area except its physical plant” (Allen et al., 1976, p. 32). From its founding until George Norlin was appointed to the presidency in 1919, UCB developed considerably and established its role as the leading institution of higher education in the state of Colorado (Allen et al., 1976; Davis, 1965).

In their comprehensive history of UCB, spanning from 1876-1976, Allen et al. (1976) described UCB as having “a special character... serving as a cosmopolitan institution with students and faculty com[ing] from all over the world” (p. ix). Davis (1965) also describes the creation and maintenance of the University of Colorado Boulder throughout the nineteenth century, and the many factors affecting the institution as the decades ticked by. Among the many factors discussed by Davis (1965) and Allen et al. (1976), race enters into the discussion as civil rights issues surfaced on both national and international fronts, at times taking center stage, during our country’s history. Race relations at UCB mirror the attitude of our country as a whole. Since UCB first welcomed students in 1877 willful ignorance of the many economic and educational problems related to race and our country’s history of discrimination gave way to modest recognition with the gains made by civil rights activists in the 1960s and beyond. Ultimately, acknowledgment that solutions were needed to address disparities associated with race was made on the UCB campus, throughout Colorado, and across the United States.

Today, similar to other universities and organizations throughout the US, UCB continues its work to create solutions to provide equal and equitable educational opportunities to all men and women in Colorado and across the globe. As leaders at UCB

today look for new solutions to overcome issues centered on race and educational access and opportunity, it is helpful to understand and acknowledge the past..

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President George Norlin

Serving as the President of UCB from 1919 to 1939, following the resignation of President Livingston Farrand, Dr. George Norlin is fondly remembered for the impact he made both as a scholar and as a leader of the University (Allen, et al., 1976; Davis, 1965). Undoubtedly, each president throughout the history of UCB played a significant role in promoting and establishing the university. However, in terms of addressing issues of race and bigotry, President Norlin is recognized foremost because he stood up to the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), which dominated Colorado government in the 1920s (CU Heritage Center, 2011; Delgado & Stefancic, 2009). In the 1920s, UCB was growing rapidly, but its facilities were inadequate. Already facing a deficit of nearly \$100,000, Norlin initiated an amendment to the State Constitution “which provided for education purposes an additional levy of one mill” (Davis, 1965, p. 267). Spurring on alumni to take part in the campaign to garner support for and spread knowledge of the University, the Amendment passed by a margin of 7 to 1 in November, 1920 (Davis, 1965).

In the elections of 1924, the Ku Klux Klan took over the city of Denver and the state of Colorado (Abbott, et al., 2005; Delgado & Stefancic, 2009). During this time, Norlin was approached by the KKK who demanded that he fire all Catholic and Jewish staff at the University; he did not comply with these demands and the University lost a vital source of revenues as a new appropriation bill benefiting the school died (Allen et al., 1976; CU Heritage Center, 2011; Davis 1965). The bill died because the state legislature adjourned without voting on it; the adjournment was allegedly orchestrated by

the KKK (Davis, 1965). Described as an ethical and democratic humanitarian, Norlin later reflected upon his experience with the KKK and noted, “We can, perhaps, afford to play politics with many things, but not with education” (CU Heritage Center, 2011). Unfortunately, as discussed in latter chapters throughout this dissertation, politics do come into play in education, particularly when the contentious topic of race is involved.

After Norlin’s encounter with the KKK during his early years as president, his ethics and humanitarianism led him to originate an antidiscrimination campaign at UCB, including appointment of an Ethnic Minorities Committee during the late 1930s. The purpose of the committee was “to investigate problems peculiar to minority students and to suggest corrective actions,” though the problems and corrective actions are not described in further detail (Allen et al., 1976, p. 176).

Issues related to racism and discrimination continued to surface during the subsequent presidencies of Robert Stearns, Ward Darley, Quigg Newton and Joseph Smiley (Allen et al., 1976; Davis, 1965). Toward the end of the 1940s under President Stearns, “the A.S.U.C. (Associated Students of the University of Colorado) passed a resolution by a 9 to 1 vote that: There shall be no discrimination because of color, national origin, or creed in campus activities and social life” (Davis, 1965, p. 508). Over the next few years, the university adopted other anti-discriminatory measures. Enrollment at UCB grew significantly under Darley, but discrimination continued to be the most troublesome problem facing his administration, and efforts to eliminate it became a significant part of student life (Allen et al., 1976; Davis, 1965).

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Ward Darley

In an effort to eliminate discriminatory practices from the lives of students, from 1953 through 1956 Darley “sought to bring an end to long-established restrictive practices in the selection of members for honorary, professional, and social organizations on the Boulder campus” (Allen et al., 1976, p. 175; Davis, 1965). Working toward the goal to end racial bias on campus, honorary and professional groups were ordered to eliminate discriminatory clauses from their chapters’ charters within five years. Social sororities and fraternities were required to report to a special committee their progress on eliminating such clauses from their national charters (Allen et al., 1976; Davis, 1965). All but one honorary and professional organization on campus met the deadline of June 1953. Because of its non-compliance, the University Committee on Student Organizations and Social Life revoked the charter of Alpha Chi Sigma, a chemistry professional society (Davis, 1965). However, the charter was later reinstated as the Regents ruled in a split vote (3-2) that the group fit into the social rather than the professional category (Allen et al., 1976). As a result of the reinstatement of the group, the members of the University’s governing board were split and “the anti-bias crusade [became] a partisan issue” (Allen et al., 1976, p. 178).

Sororities initially appeared to make quick progress to remove discriminatory clauses from their national charters; by 1949, all sororities at UCB had done so (Davis, 1965). Though discriminatory clauses were removed, in 1955, reports of “behind-the-back” discrimination in sororities were made public and discrimination by social groups remained a contentious topic on campus (Allen et al., 1976). This reality highlights the persistence of racism among individuals populating the country, state, and the UCB

campus despite policies to the contrary. Compared to UCB sororities, fraternities on the other hand moved much more slowly in eliminating discriminatory clauses from their national charters; in 1953, the national charters of all ten fraternities on the Boulder campus maintained discriminatory clauses (Davis, 1965). It was not until March of 1956 that the Regents adopted an antidiscrimination policy to deal with the racism and bias on campus. After a 9 ½ hour open hearing on the discrimination issue, the Regents voted to adopt a resolution requiring all fraternities, social organizations, and social groups that wished to remain a part of the UCB campus to eliminate discriminatory provisions from their national charters by 1962. President Quigg Newton thus was faced with ensuring this deadline was met (Allen et al., 1976; Davis, 1965).

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Quigg Newton

Quigg Newton served as President of the University from 1956-1963. In 1958, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) criticized Newton and the Boulder campus for “the use of Negro figures in Homecoming Decorations” to align with the Homecoming theme, “A Little Bit O’Dixie” (Davis, 1965, p. 744). Newton responded via telegram to the NAACP, affirming no offense was intended. As documented by Allen et al. (1976) and Davis (1965), no further discussion of the matter is recorded and no further interaction took place between the NAACP and UCB. During Newton’s presidency, the 1962 deadline approached for compliance by fraternities and sororities of the anti-discriminatory clause adopted by the Regents in 1956. By August of 1956, 36 of the 37 sororities and fraternities on campus had complied with the mandate (Davis, 1965). Phi Delta Theta fraternity was placed on probation for non-compliance. Probation lasted for a few days until the national organization made

efforts to allow for local autonomy in membership selection. Thus, discriminatory practices by student organizations appeared to be resolved under Newton.

Though changes were being made and Newton's goal of elevating UCB to prestigious status was underway, "opposition to the Newton administration, in time led by Regents and others who aspired to the presidency, coalesced as an expression of conservatism, a reaction against change" (Allen et al., 1976, p. 196). In spring 1961, naysayers publically labeled Boulder as liberal and communist (Allen, 1976). Given the nature of the political atmosphere and the results of the election of 1962 during which "Republicans were swept into power," capturing both the governor's office and the state legislature, Newton resigned from his presidency to serve as the chief administrator of The Commonwealth Fund of New York (Allen et al., 1976, p. 202).

From 1953 to 1963, the University changed significantly, no longer isolated as an "ivory tower," but thrust into mainstream life and politics, "an arena for conflicting interests" (Allen et al., 1976, p. 204). An atmosphere of unrest present in Colorado in the 1960s was reflected in the public's attitude toward the University: "Popular support for higher education, at least for the University, had given way to disillusionment if not distrust" (Allen et al., 1976, p. 204). As a result of the public distrust, continued expansion of the University was in doubt.

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Joseph R. Smiley

Following Quigg Newton's retirement, Joseph R. Smiley was appointed to the presidency of the University of Colorado Boulder. Undeniably, Newton had made great strides to lead the University to "acquire new stature and prestige" (James, 1979, p. 12). With Smiley serving as the new leader of UCB, growth and change continued to take

place on campus, mirrored on university campuses across the country (Allen et al., 1976). One of the major changes taking place on college campuses locally and nationally was substantial growth in the size of the student body and faculty (Allen et al., 1976; James, 1979). Allen et al. (1976) describe the substantial growth taking place throughout the country: “Between 1960 and 1970 the number of students enrolled nationally for degree credit more than doubled . . . to 7.1 million” (p. 206). The rising demand for higher education was linked to several factors including the population growth of the 1940s resulting in a larger college-aged group in the 1960s; an end to discrimination that resulted in educational access for a new groups of students; the growing dependence upon colleges and universities by businesses and government agencies to provide specialized training and education for employees; and, personal higher expectations for career advancement which led to an increased need for a college education (Allen et al., 1976).

During this time-frame and through 1975, Colorado also changed substantially as the state’s population grew rapidly to become “almost 30 percent larger than in 1960,” (1.7 million to approximately 2.5 million) and Colorado’s economy continued to evolve (Allen et al., 1976, p. 206; United States Census Bureau, n.d.). With 19 public institutions of higher education in Colorado, a need to define institutional roles and ensure the equal distribution of opportunities for education across the state became pertinent. In order to assert control over higher education in Colorado, the Legislature created the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (C.C.H.E) in 1965 (Allen et al., 1976; James, 1979). As described in Chapter III, the C.C.H.E. was given the responsibility to “develop long-range plans, review budget requests, and recommend priorities for funding” and “furnish

important leadership for the evolution of higher education in Colorado” (Allen et al., 1976, p. 207).

This atmosphere of growth and change accompanied the beginning of Joseph R. Smiley’s presidency as he began serving as the 9th president of the University of Colorado Boulder. The party politics that accompanied the exit of Quigg Newton continued into the mid-1970s and with Republicans in control, Smiley “had to deal with a state government that was less inclined to raise taxes and improve public services” (Allen et al., 1965, p. 211). Further, from 1966 onward, “the Republicans had a majority on the governing board of the University” (Allen et al., p. 211). Smiley’s presidency was also greatly impacted by both national and international events, and students at UCB and universities around the country demonstrated using “teach-ins, bitch-ins, and sit-ins to not only call attention to their assertions but to demand attention” (James, 1979, p. 24). In Boulder, topics for teach-ins included Vietnam, free speech, religion, and civil liberties, among others. The *Rocky Mountain News* featured a report by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee written by an anonymous individual who alleged several professors at CU were “leading the student protest movement and being Communist sympathizers” (James, 1979, p. 25). Though these allegations were false, the liberal image of the Boulder campus and community left room for conservatives to assert their negative views of the University into the future.

Smiley led the university during a time when national tragedy, controversy, and hope for a better tomorrow ran deep as the country witnessed the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November of 1963, the beginning of Vietnam, and the delivery of Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech to hundreds of thousands in

1963 (James, 1979). Civil rights issues seemingly made their way into the consciousness of students and faculty. The absence of minorities on campus was noted by James (1979) who wrote, “Until 1966, when administrators were pressured to admit more minority students, most Blacks on campus could be accounted for on one of the athletic teams except for a few women, and Spanish surnamed students were as rare” (p. 26). The anti-discrimination policy adopted by the Regents in 1956 surfaced once again as Sigma Chi Fraternity was placed on probation in 1965, when the Regents learned the fraternity’s national office did not support the membership of racial minorities. The decision made by the Regents in this case was upheld by a federal court. The suspension of the chapter was lifted in April of 1967, but Sigma Chi had already moved “off campus” (James, 1979). In general, students supported the university’s anti-discrimination policy and took it even further in 1969 when “the CU student body voted to assess itself \$5 per semester for ten years to help with minority scholarships” (James, 1979, p. 46).

Undeniably, Smiley’s presidency was met and challenged by powerful social changes taking place throughout the country. James (1979) wrote about the role of minority students on Boulder’s campus during these changing times and emphasized, “minorities, particularly the Blacks, were demanding the right to a fuller education on a much broader basis than had been open to them in the past” (p. 52). Historical accounts paint a picture of UCB as an open and accepting campus, but minorities were undeniably underrepresented. As the sole Black faculty member, English Professor Charles Nilon, “estimated there were between fifty and sixty Blacks enrolled” in the early 1960s (James, 1979, p. 52). In a memorandum obtained from the Executive Vice President’s office, written by John P. Holloway, the University’s willingness to accept and embrace

minorities was supported by the Discrimination Policy of the University, which stated admission would be offered to students regardless of race, religion, or nationality (Holloway, 1967). As stated by Holloway (1967), “The policy of non-discrimination is constitutional.... and so far as I am advised, has been in practice since the founding of the University.”

Former Black student, W. Harold Flowers, began his studies at UCB in 1963 and graduated from the school of law in 1969. When asked about the presence of minority students on campus during his years as a student, “Flowers estimated there were eighteen Blacks on campus. He said he was aware of only two Chicanos on campus” (James, 1979, p. 53). Though the policy of non-discrimination was in place at UCB, efforts to attract minority students to campus were seemingly absent. Flowers also felt the stereotypical view of Black students as athletes and incapable academics was definitely present on the UCB campus (James, 1979). In assessing reasons Blacks existed in such small numbers on campus, Flowers offered the following explanation: “They didn’t go to C.U. because of preparation and, since there were so few Blacks, they didn’t go for social reasons either” (James, 1979, p. 53).

The death of Martin Luther King “brought the student’s interest and the University’s concern together” as President Smiley held a meeting with the Faculty Senate announcing the appropriation of funds for recruiting minority students to campus for summer programs. Upon completing the program, participants would be allowed to enroll at UCB for the upcoming school year (James, 1979, p. 53). As detailed by James (1979) and through the numerous documents obtained from the archives concerning the history of UCB, aside from dealing with the problems associated with discrimination in

social organizations, President Smiley was the first to commit monetary resources to the recruitment of minority students. Serving as Vice President and in charge of academic affairs, Thurston E. Manning was credited by President Smiley and Associate Dean of Faculties, Ronald Rautenstrauss, for his support of minority affairs (James, 1979). However, these efforts to include a more diverse group of students on the Boulder campus were not widely embraced by all members of the campus community. James (1979) notes that as race riots and other violence took place on campuses and in cities across the country, “the attitude of those in administration [at UCB] towards admitting large numbers of minorities was mixed” (p. 54).

President Smiley led the University of Colorado Boulder through turbulent times, during which major changes were taking place not only at the University but throughout the state of Colorado, the nation and the world. Widely admired and supported for his leadership capabilities, Smiley resigned from the presidency in February of 1969. James (1979) summarizes the many changes that took hold during Smiley’s presidency with “the end of *in loco parentis*, changes in faculty and student government, changes in curriculum, more positive alumni attitudes, the beginnings of a strong minority enrollment program” (p. 81). As a more diverse group of students were welcomed to campus than ever before, new construction was commonplace and the campus continued to capture the eye of past, present, and future stakeholders (James, 1979; Allen et al., 1976). Through all of the ups and downs Smiley encountered as president, particularly in terms of politics, when all was said and done “the University remained in its place of high standing and fine regard among public institutions” (James, 1979, p. 82). However, historical statistical data suggest that the presence of a diverse and heterogeneous student

body continued to elude UCB, and more would need to be done to change the attitudes of those in administration, and the campus community at large, to transform the make-up of the student body.

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Frederick Patrick Thieme

Serving the university in various roles for 26 years, Eugene H. Wilson also served as the tenth interim President of the University for three months after Smiley resigned. During the few months Wilson held office, “the summer program to prepare minority students to deal better with college was proving a success” (James, 1979, p. 85). The Student Tutorial Program and Migrant Action Program included Blacks, Chicanos and Native Americans, and expanded in size during its second year of existence in summer 1969. The Medical Center also started a summer program with the goal of recruiting more minority and disadvantaged students, as “only one Black and one Chicano were enrolled” at the time (James, 1979, p. 85). The trend toward minority involvement and inclusion continued with the selection of the eleventh President of the University, Frederick Patrick Thieme. According to James (1979), “the first two years of Thieme’s administration were years when the most convulsive minority demonstrations occurred” (p. 100).

Along with Thieme, Dean Roland Rautenstrauss played an active role in advocating for the needs and desires of minority students on campus, and he worked to convince the regents that minority programs were needed because of the positive impact they made across campus. The educational opportunity programs that started in the summer of 1968 proved successful; and during the 1969-70 school year, “approximately 800 students, [including minority students], were receiving financial aid on the Boulder,

[Denver, and Colorado Springs campuses]” (Allen et al., 1976, p. 240). Dean Rautenstrauss believed in the need for minority programs, suggesting that they were “not just [a] philosophical issue, but an institutional obligation” (James, 1979, p. 101). Throughout the 1970s, issues concerning minority students continued to surface and Thieme wanted to make the minority programs at the University work, though “there were several administrators who were not enthusiastic and even “sabotaging” the efforts” (James, 1979, p. 103).

Educational Opportunities Programs

As the funds (\$180,000) were made available, the Student Tutorial Program, serving 48 Black students, and the Migrant Action Program, serving 25 Mexican-Americans, were put into place during the summer of 1968 (James, 1979). A summary of programs described under the umbrella of Educational Opportunities Programs from July 1, 1969, was maintained in the papers of the President’s Office in the UCB Archives. The first Student Tutorial Program (STP) and Migrant Action Program (MAP) were started in the summer of 1968 and are discussed in the summary report. Seventy students who participated in the summer programs continued at the university during the 1968-1969 school year and “approximately fifty of these students completed the freshman year successfully” and planned to return for the next school year (Hannon, 1969, p. 1). Serving as the director of EOP programs, Hannon (1969) described the university’s plan to enroll 550 minority and disadvantaged students in the fall of 1969, with 275 students continuing as regular university students upon their successful completion of the summer programs, and 225 freshman and junior college students admitted with “special financial aid consideration” (p. 2).

Summer Tutorial Program

As described in the EOP Summary Report (Hoover, 1969), the Summer Tutorial Program from 1968-1969 included 47 students from a disadvantaged background. These students took remedial courses in English composition, Political Science, and English Literature taught by volunteer faculty and supported by volunteer tutors. As the program continued into the fall semester, students enrolled in 11 to 13 college credit hours, taking courses in English, special reading (non-credit), and Mexican-American and African-American Studies. Students were provided with the support of tutors, and were required to attend study tables Sunday-Thursday, from seven until nine in the evening. After the first semester, the program was changed to better meet the individual needs of the students. The changed program was labeled the “Counselor-Tutor Plan,” and included the support of tutors, optional study tables, and an upperclassman or graduate student who was assigned to serve as a counselor for four to five students. The counselor would be a member of a minority group, and would anticipate the needs of the students and essentially serve as a mentor (Hoover, 1969). Suggestions from the program participants were taken into consideration to improve the experience for future students. Summer Tutorial Program participants suggested the summer experience needed to be more demanding to lead to their success as students enrolled in the university during the school year (Hoover, 1969). Data, including student GPAs and credit hours earned, was maintained by the EOP Office to track student progress and program effectiveness and are included in the summary report.

Migrant Action Program

As described by Hoover (1968) in the EOP Summary Report, the Migrant Action Program (MAP) was “designed to provide educational opportunities for rural Spanish-American and Mexican-American children” (p. 17). Twenty-three students participated in the MAP program during the summer of 1968. The composition of the students participating in the program was detailed by Hoover (1968), who described the age range of the students, from 17 to 33, their rank in high school classes, and their College Entrance Examination Board Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. The students participating in this program “experienced a greater degree of success than would normally be expected . . . earning a mean, cumulative grade point average of 2.118” (Hoover, 1968, p. 17). The program participants supported each other emotionally and socially, and volunteer tutors provided academic support across academic disciplines. Approximately 50 students were expected to participate in the MAP, as the program continued into the fall of 1969 (Hoover, 1968).

Other Programs

Many other programs that fall under the Educational Opportunities Program Office were detailed in the EOP Office Summary Report (Hoover, 1969). The EOP programs not described in further detail here include (a) Education Research Action College located at Manual High School, (b) C.U.- Denver Public Schools Tutorial Program, (c) School of Law Summer Tutorial Program, (d) Graduate School programs, (e) School of Education Programs, (f) Junior College Transfer Program, and (g) VISTA-Denver Public School Training Program. The EOP Office Summary Report (1969) also included a description of the EOP Tutorial Support Program put into place in the fall of

1969 for the 1969-1970 school year. The Black Studies and Mexican-American Studies programs designed for the 1969-70 school year are also described in detail in the report.

The last part of the extensive EOP Office Summary Report (1969) includes a report submitted to the Colorado Commission on Higher Education, in response to a request from the CCHE to provide answers to specific questions concerning opportunities for minorities at the university. A list of courses offered at UCB “primarily directed to minority group history, culture, problems, attainments, etc.” was outlined in the report (Yetter, 1969, p. 48). Efforts to hire minority personnel in administrative, faculty, and non-academic positions from 1965 on were also documented and outlined for the CCHE. The last area addressed in the report described efforts, plans, and problems encountered in recruiting minority and disadvantaged students through 1970.

Addressing the Needs of the Underrepresented

The Faculty Council authorized a study known as *The Jessor Report*, named after Richard Jessor who was a professor of psychology and chairman of the Faculty Council Committee on Minority Programs, in 1970 (James, 1979; Jessor, 1970). *The Jessor Report* outlined the goals of the minority student programs at UCB and the committee made 17 recommendations, including the need to make a commitment to substantially increase minority enrollment so “that by the 1974-75 academic year the number of minorities should reflect the proportion of minorities in the state or fifteen percent” (Allen et al., 1967; James, 1979; Jessor, 1970). The 17 recommendations made by Jessor and the other faculty members who served on the committee were “sympathetic to the educational needs of minorities” (James, 1979, p. 102). As noted previously, all faculty and administrators were not supportive of the efforts being made to expand educational

access and opportunity available to minority students, but as discussed previously, most students seemed sympathetic to the cause as they “voted in the spring of 1969 to add \$5 per semester to their tuition to be used for minority financial support for ten years” (James, 1979, p. 102). The use of these funds to support minorities on campus was later deemed unconstitutional by the State Attorney General. However, the University, under Thieme later reached an agreement to enroll more Chicano and Black students and, “[Thieme] said his policy position was to make the minority programs work” (James, 1979, p. 103).

The Colorado Commission on Higher Education made a decision in the fall of 1972 to limit enrollment at the University of Colorado Boulder to 20,000 students (James, 1979). As a result of this decision, higher standards for admission were put into place; this posed even more difficulty for the University as they worked toward recruiting, admitting, and enrolling more minority students (James, 1979). When asked about the higher standards, President Thieme discussed his support of “a total evaluation of the person to see if he can graduate as an ordinary student at the University,” and further suggested “the University should go all out to help the disadvantaged student who was admitted” (James, 1979, p. 103). During the 1970s, minority speakers came together on the Colorado Springs campus to discuss discrimination in education and “they raised the issue of parity in enrollment” (James, 1979, p. 103). James (1979) recognized that “the issue of parity, though long a minority goal, has never been resolved” (p. 102).

The parity issue would be addressed again during the fall of 1973 as the University’s affirmative action policies were criticized by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (H.E.W) for “underutilization or low utilization of women and

minorities throughout the University workforce and faculty” (James, 1979, p. 144). A task force was established to address these issues and Thieme appointed Barbara Jones as the director of affirmative action programs at the University. Four resolutions were then passed by the Faculty Council, supporting affirmative action as a means to eliminate inequities (James, 1979). The campus Affirmative Action Plan was endorsed by the regents in October of 1973, and The Minority Task Force was assigned to work out the details of the plan and draw up a separate plan for each of the University of Colorado campuses (James, 1979).

Creation of the Chancellors

As an important aside to the work Thieme accomplished during his presidency, specifically in regard to addressing the needs of underrepresented students, he also was responsible for creating the four campus University of Colorado system (Boulder, Colorado Springs, Denver, and the medical campus), overseen by the President and each led by a Chancellor. Under his strong but controversial leadership, vast improvements were made on both the Denver and Colorado Springs campuses. Thieme appointed Chancellors to lead each of the four campuses, becoming the “first President of CU as a multi-campus system”, and altering the structure of leadership and control over the University through the present day (CU Heritage Center, n.d.). In 2005, under the Presidency of Hank Brown, the Board of Regents voted to move the President’s office from Boulder to Denver, a discussion that had taken place during the presidencies of Weber and Gee (Dodge, 2005). Regents in favor of the move suggested that the President would be able “to create a plan to maintain a meaningful presence on each of the campuses” (Dodge, 2005). After Thieme left the office of the President, the role of

campus chancellors grew considerably in terms of overseeing the enactment of university policies, such as those related to minority student recruitment, retention, and success.

Current university president Bruce Benson appointed the 11th Chancellor of the University of Colorado Boulder, Phil DiStefano, in May 2009 (Office of the Chancellor, n.d.).

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Roland Curt Rautenstrauss

Unrest among the faculty, as well as the “continuing problems of finance, management, and priorities”, ultimately led to the firing of President Thieme (James, 1979, p. 149). In 1974, Roland Curt Rautenstrauss was appointed interim President and he was named the 12th President of the University in January of 1975. As an advocate of, and mediator for, minority students, Rautenstrauss continued to work to resolve discriminatory practices at UCB early in his presidency. In 1976, African Americans gained prominent roles in university administration and governance with the appointment of Mary Frances Berry as permanent chancellor of the Boulder campus; “the first woman and the first Black” to do so, and of Rachel Noel, a prominent figure on the Denver School Board, to the Board of Regents (James, 1979, p. 159). Even with these minority women appointed to significant positions, three years after the Affirmative Action Plan had been put into place, the director of women’s studies, Carol Pearson, expressed concern over its effectiveness in altering the number of women and minorities in administrative and faculty positions, which were described as “minute on campus” (James, 1979, p. 164).

Progress had been made over the years to enroll more minority students at the University, but Dean William E. Briggs noted, “there are many people who feel it’s still

below what it should be” (James, 1979, p. 165). In particular, Representative Morgan Smith and Regent Rachel Noel were critical of the School of Law for its failure to hire women and minorities (James, 1979). A search into enrollment records now maintained on the university’s Website did not prove fruitful in obtaining the actual, raw numbers of minority students on campus since UCB’s first academic year in 1877. Enrollment records maintained on the university’s Planning, Budget, and Analysis Website (<http://www.colorado.edu/pba>) that include a breakdown of racial groups begin with the year 1988 through the present day.

Race, UCB, and Leadership from 1980 to the Present

The three comprehensive histories compiled since the founding of the University of Colorado end with the presidency of Roland C. Rautenstrauss in 1980. Since 1980, nine other individuals have served as leaders of the University of Colorado system, and issues concerning race and the presence, or lack thereof, of minorities on campus have continued to surface. Evidence of this struggle can be found in the UCB archives, in local, state, and national news articles, and on the UCB Website. Today, President Bruce D. Benson and the chancellors of each of the University of Colorado campuses lead university diversity efforts. There are now three campuses run by Chancellor’s as the University of Colorado Denver and Anschutz Medical Campus merged. The president’s stance on race and diversity can be found on the Website associated with the Office of the President:

The University of Colorado’s efforts in diversity are among our most important activities. As a university, we have a special obligation to ensure that the students we educate (and the faculty and staff who deliver that education) reflect the diversity of our state and society. One of CU’s guiding principles, as articulated by the Board of Regents, stresses the importance of diversity in all its forms. (Benson, n.d.)

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President Arnold R. Weber

Arnold R. Weber served as President of UCB from 1980-1985. Papers maintained in the university archives reveal the intense struggle Weber faced as President with issues related to affirmative action at UCB. A letter from Colorado House Minority Leader Federico Pena (1981), received by Weber on September 9, 1981, complained of “statistics showing plummeting minority student enrollments on the C.U. campuses and of the lack of minority personnel recruitment and promotion at the University.” Indeed, data for UCB reveal that minority student enrollment declined from the late 1970’s into the early 1980’s, from 9.31% in 1977-78 to 7.85% in 1981-82, and 7.87% in 1982-83 (Minority Student Analysis, 1983). Pena, on behalf of the minority legislators, asked Weber to “rectify the poor affirmative action situation now existing at the University” (p. 1). After receipt of this letter, action to rectify the situation seemed to get underway quickly. On May 6, 1982, Chancellor Harrison Shull submitted the annual Affirmative Action Report for the Boulder campus to President Weber. In this report, concerns over decreasing minority enrollments on the Boulder campus were discussed and the Affirmative Action Office acknowledged, “efforts in this area need to be emphasized to maximize the education and advancement of minority individuals” (Affirmative Action Report, 1982, p. 54). Plans to evaluate and revise the Affirmative Action Program at UCB were discussed, as well.

Under President Weber’s leadership and likely in response to the criticism of the UCB campus regarding minority enrollment, a Regents Committee was formed by Sandy F. Kraemer and Rachel B. Noel, “to investigate and recommend ways to improve minority enrollment and retention” at UCB (Kraemer Noel Report, 1984). Kraemer and

Noel, co-chairs of the ad-hoc committee, took responsibility for the material presented in their report to the other Regents, the President, and the campus community. Developing a three-pronged approach, the co-chairs identified three “critical intervention points” upon which minority programming efforts should focus: (a) pre-collegiate academic assistance, (b) recruitment, and (c) retention (Kraemer & Noel, 1984). Discussion and reaction to the report by the other Regents is included in the document found in the archives and suggests an overall sense of agreement surrounding the goal to graduate students from the University, and increase retention and graduation rates of minority students in particular. Several documents maintained in the archives discuss the recommendations and findings presented in the Kraemer Noel Report (1984). At a time when a plan was desperately needed, this report appeared to fill the void and provide a base from which action could stem.

As the discussion among the Regents is documented, Kraemer commented on an important graphic included in the report titled, “The Educational Pipeline in This Country” (see Appendix B). Utilizing this graphic, Kraemer and Noel (1984) highlighted the dilemma facing UCB, and the nation, in preparing all students for a bright future. The educational pipeline graphic illustrates the graduation gap as “the numbers of those who graduate from high school are compared with those completing college . . . the statistics are alarming and the need is great” (Kraemer & Noel, 1984, p. 512).

The pipeline referred to by Kraemer and Noel (1984) was borrowed from a study conducted by Astin (1982) and breaks down percentages of high school graduation, college entrance, and college completion rates by race. In the graphic, 83% of White students graduate from high school, of the 83%, 38% enter college, 23% of those students

complete college, 14% enter graduate or professional college, and 8% complete graduate or professional school. These statistics contrast with those of students from minority groups, with Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians posting the lowest high school graduation rate of 55%, and ultimately the lowest completion rate of graduate or professional school, 2%. The high school graduation rate of Black students in this graphic was 72%, with 29% entering college, 12% completing college, 8% entering graduate or professional college, and 4% completing graduate or professional school.

While presenting their report to the Board of Regents, Noel declared, “I hope in 1994 a report like this will not ever have to be written” (Kraemer & Noel, 1984, p. 511). Yet today, though progress has been made since 1984, similar discussions continue to take place and more reports have been written. In the state of Colorado, a more recent educational pipeline graphic described as “The Colorado Paradox,” continues to draw attention to the high school to college graduation gap in Colorado. The Colorado Paradox refers to Colorado’s rank as one of the top five states nationwide for the greatest number of college-degree holders per capita, juxtaposed with Colorado’s rank in the bottom quartile of the number of high school graduates earning a degree in one of our state’s institutions of higher education (only 1 in 5 high school graduates earn a degree in Colorado). The persistence of the Colorado Paradox is evidence of an educational system that continues to fall short of serving all students equally and equitably.

In response to the recommendations made in the Kraemer-Noel Report (1984), President Weber’s office made efforts to establish a Student Retention Task Force to “address the needs of all students but give emphasis to the particular needs of minority students” (Breivik, 1985, p. 1). As proposed, the Task Force would include staff

members serving as representatives from all of the University of Colorado campuses, working to embrace the university system's goal of improving the retention rates of minority students across the CU system. Because the CU system includes four different campuses, each with its own history and goals, a system-wide task force was not welcomed with open arms. Chancellor Neal Lane, serving at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs (UCCS), compiled a lengthy report in response to Kraemer and Noel (1984) suggesting, "the task force report contains major flaws in the conceptual nature of the document and the subsequent recommendations" (Lane, 1985, p. 1). Though supportive of developing a task force to address system-wide minority recruitment and retention issues, Lane (1985) felt that campus autonomy needed to be maintained when dealing with issues surrounding race, diversity, affirmative action, and equal opportunity.

Documents obtained from the UCB archives indicated the ongoing struggle encountered throughout the university system to implement the Kraemer-Noel recommendations in 1984. Data collected and maintained by the Colorado Department of Education and the Colorado Commission of Higher Education from the state's colleges and universities reveals that not all campuses have struggled as mightily as Boulder to attract, retain, and graduate members of minority groups.

Race and UCB under the Leadership of President E. (Elwood) Gordon Gee

E. Gordon Gee took over the presidency of UCB from Arnold Weber in 1985 and served the University until 1990. Given the immediacy of the release of the Kraemer Noel report and Gee's term as president, discussions about race, diversity, affirmative action, and equal opportunity continued throughout his presidency. In May of 1988, President Gee received a letter from Leslie S. Franklin, Director of the Governor's Job

Training Office. Franklin identified “extreme displeasure regarding the current level of enrollment of minority students generally, and of Black students in particular, at the Boulder Campus of the University of Colorado” (p.1). Gee (1988) replied to Mr. Franklin’s letter, expressing his personal concern with the underrepresentation of minorities, particularly of Black students, and emphasized the growing proportion of minority students planning to enroll at UCB in the fall of 1987. Responding during the summer months, Gee (1988) highlighted the growth of Black students who had confirmed their enrollment the previous year, increasing from 1.7% in 1986 to 2.2% in 1987. In an undated letter to his colleagues, President Gee discussed his commitment to creating a University community that “will become richer as we increase its diversity” (Gee, n.d., Archives University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries).

Building on the Past and Transforming the Future

Efforts to increase campus diversity seemed to take center stage at UCB, across the University of Colorado system, in Colorado, and around the country in the 1990s, and this trend toward embracing diversity has seemingly continued into the present day. Since E. Gordon Gee’s presidency ended in 1990, six others have served as president of the University of Colorado system, including: William E. Baughn, 1985, 1990-1991; the first woman President, Judith E.N. Albino (1991-1995); John C. Buechner (1995-2000); Alexander E. Bracken (2000); the second woman president, Elizabeth Hoffmann (2000-2005); Hank Brown (2005-2008); and current President, Bruce Benson who began leading the University system in 2008. Each of these individuals faced their own obstacles as they led the University through the ups and downs in Colorado, in the United States, and across the globe, particularly as they worked to improve the diversity of

students on all of the university campuses. Many of the efforts initiated by these individuals to address concerns surrounding the underrepresentation of minority students in the University of Colorado system and specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder in the 1990s have continued today. As times and tides have continued to change, the state legislature has remained actively involved in efforts to propel Colorado forward by opening the doors of opportunity for all students interested in attending the colleges and universities throughout the state.

In 1990, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education “accepted a state goal to increase minority graduation rates to equal the 1988/1989 high school graduation rate of 18.6% to be achieved by the year 2000” (Cunningham & Chisholm, 1992, p. 1). The CCHE adopted this goal as a result of a state legislature directive set forth in HB 1187, “to the Commission to adopt statewide affirmative action policies for student-supported institutions of higher education” (Cunningham & Chisholm, 1992, p. 1). In 1989, the CCHE approved the goal of increasing minority student college graduation rates to meet part of its affirmative action responsibilities. A financial incentive was attached to the graduation goal and the Commission approved, “that .5% of the base funding for higher education be used to reward institutions that improve their minority graduation rates” (Cunningham & Chisholm, 1992, p. 1). In 1992, the Commission increased the percentage of base funding from .5% to 1%. As documented by CCHE, UCB met the CCHE affirmative action goals, as outlined, in 1990 and 1991.

As discussed in Chapter III, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education adopted a new policy on affirmative action in October of 1998. Unlike the policy adopted in 1990, the 1998 policy included multiple indicators of institutional progress toward

achieving diversity instead of focusing solely on minority graduation rates, represented a continuous improvement model for institutional success, provided for more flexibility allowing every institution of higher education in Colorado more options to succeed, and pledged to seek new appropriations for higher education to financially support pre-collegiate programs. As a result of the change in the CCHE policy, UCB responded by creating a new campus diversity plan, *A Blueprint for Action*, that many students opposed (Dodge, 1999). During this time, Ofelia Miramontes, then Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity, made plans to meet with various student and campus groups to get feedback to include in a second draft of the plan she planned to prepare and submit to the Board of Regents in March of 2000. Students opposed the first draft of the plan “because it lacked specific goals” which had been included, as required by CCHE, in previous diversity plans (Dodge, 1999). Wary of the potential for legal misinterpretation of numerical goals as quotas, Miramontes planned to meet with University counsel to discuss the inclusion of numerical diversity goals in the second draft of the plan. Criticism of the university’s diversity plan came not only from students, but staff members, like Ray Chavez, who felt the commitment to put diversity plans into action had to come from the top (Dodge, 1999). With the creation of the Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity position and the devotion of significant funding for diversity programming, Miramontes believed the efforts being made by the university to implement change and to create a more diverse community of students, staff, and faculty members were indicative of the commitment to diversity being made by campus administrators as the 21st century began (Dodge, 1999).

The remaining chapters of this dissertation will discuss the present-day state of race and diversity affairs on the University of Colorado Boulder campus, as outlined on

the Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement (ODECE) Website. The ODECE office was founded on the UCB campus in the fall of 2006 and was originally led by Sally McKee. ODECE is currently led by Vice Chancellor, Robert Boswell and Assistant Vice Chancellor, Alphonse Keasley. The ODECE Website highlights several areas related to diversity and equity efforts championed on college campuses across the country. The remaining chapters in this dissertation will focus upon describing the relationship between race and diversity with campus climate, community engagement, and student success to offer an explanation for their inclusion on ODECE's Website, to make the case for diversity, and to further analyze UCB's efforts to attract, retain, and graduate a more diverse student population.

CHAPTER V

THE IMPACT OF RACE AND DIVERSITY ON COLLEGE STUDENT SUCCESS

According to a report prepared by The Adams Group Inc. (2007) for the Colorado Department of Education, Colorado boasts one of the most highly educated populations in the United States and “in 2005, Colorado ranked third among the fifty states in percentage of its population with a college degree” (p. 21). Clearly, an educated population benefits the state of Colorado as “college educated adults are more likely to be healthy, to vote and to volunteer their time” (p. 24). In their research on successful diversity programming at colleges and universities across the U.S., Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) highlighted the importance of focusing upon the retention and graduation rates of underrepresented students, student success rates, instead of solely focusing upon their admission numbers. Enrolling students is part of the equation but ultimately, graduation is the goal from which benefits, economic, institutional, and personal, will be reaped.

The decline of college educated young adults populating our country is characterized by “The OECD data [that] show that the U.S. is still near the top in college participation rates but ranks near the bottom among OECD nations in college completion rates” (Moore & Shulock, 2009, p. 1). Focusing upon retention, graduation, and transfer rates of college students may not provide a complete picture of successful college outcomes but these are the measures currently utilized by state systems that have been developed to track student progress toward degree completion (Moore & Shulock, 2009). Research cited by Moore and Shulock (2009) highlights factors traditionally associated

with college success of students which includes, (a) higher-income level of families, (b) a family tradition of college attendance, (c) stronger academic preparation in high school, (d) close proximity of college enrollment and high school graduation, (e) strong commitment to degree completion, and (f) ability to attend college full time without interruption. Focusing upon these factors can lead to greater student success in the college environment.

College Readiness and Academic Preparedness

In a study of two-year-college students pursuing careers in specific and identified career clusters, D’Amico, Morgan, and Robertson (2011) conducted a comprehensive literature review of factors contributing to student success. They acknowledge that “academic preparedness is one factor to consider when measuring retention and graduation rates” (D’Amico et al., 2011, p. 4). Discussing past research by Gerlaugh, Thompson, Boylan and Davis (2007, cited in D’Amico et al., 2011) on academic preparedness and the impact upon graduation rates from two year colleges, D’Amico et al. (2011) draw attention to the lower graduation rates of those students who enter college in need of remediation. In fact, “fewer than half of students required to complete a developmental course complete that course and pass their first college-level course in the corresponding subject” (p. 5). The results of another research study by Kolajo (2004, cited in D’Amico et al., 2011, p. 5) suggest that the more developmental or remedial classes taken by students, the more likely it is for graduation to be delayed. Further, in the same study males were found to take longer than their female counterparts to graduate, as were younger students in comparison to older students. Other researchers (Knapp, Kelly-Reid, Ginder, & Miller, 2008 cited by D’Amico et al., 2011) found “Black non-Hispanic

and Hispanic students graduate at lower rates than Caucasian and Asian/Pacific Islanders” (p. 5).

D’Amico et al. (2011) focused their attention upon examining success factors of two-year college students, but the research base from which their study stems seems applicable to the four-year college or university setting, as well. In their review of the literature, specific student characteristics were connected to student attrition. The characteristics identified by Habley and McClanahan (2004, cited in D’Amico et al., 2011) include academic preparation, financial resources, motivation, and external demands on time (p. 5). Action oriented, D’Amico et al. (2011) encourage pro-active interventions to positively impact student success. They draw upon research by Tinto (1993, cited in D’Amico, 2011) who found, “academic and social integration at an institution contributes to enhanced retention” (p. 6).

Student Success Interventions

D’Amico et al. (2011) suggest that focusing upon the academic preparation of K-12 students is essential to provide them with a greater opportunity to succeed in the college environment. With the introduction of Higher Education Admission Requirements (HEAR) in fall 2010, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education implemented a top-down approach to ensure that college-bound high school graduates would be prepared to meet the demands of academic life that they would encounter on college campuses across the state and around the country. Because local school districts maintain control over graduation requirements, funding, and course offerings, there is no guarantee that all Colorado students will meet HEAR standards and graduate from high school prepared to achieve in all academic disciplines encountered on a college campus.

With the recent introduction of the Common Core, discussed in more detail in the conclusion, the Colorado Department of Education recognizes the importance of offering all students a standard academic core to ensure that they are receiving a high quality education and are ultimately prepared to succeed in post-secondary education and the workforce. Even so, because college attendance today has become more the rule today than the exception, students will continue to attend college with various levels of academic preparation. Pressure to graduate students, prepared or not, from college is likely to continue into the future. Research suggests college campuses can implement a variety of strategies to help students find success in individual classrooms and to ultimately earn a college degree.

Tinto's Attributes of Effective Classrooms

Tinto (2011) discusses the positive changes that have developed over the past 40 years in higher education, namely, that access has improved and college enrollment has continued to increase. However, improved access and larger numbers of students enrolling in college has not resulted in higher graduation rates for students from colleges and universities throughout the US as “only about half of all college students in the U.S. earn a degree or certificate within six years” (Tinto, 2011, p. 1). College graduation rates are worse for community college students, as well as low-income and first-generation college students. Tinto (2011) discusses the improvement programs colleges and universities have implemented to make a positive impact on completion rates. However, these efforts haven't made a significant impact because they have not been implemented on a large enough scale, and these efforts have not targeted improving the college classroom environment (Tinto, 2011). The classroom experience is perhaps the most vital

of college and university experiences because this is “the one place students connect with faculty and students engage in learning” (Tinto, 2011, p. 1). Because the classroom is the only place where all students have an opportunity to get involved, focusing on “improving success in the classroom, particularly during a student’s first year” seems pivotal (Tinto, 2011, p. 1). Tinto (2011) refers to a long history of research that has identified attributes of classrooms in which students have the greatest opportunities for success, and “these are within the grasp of institutions to modify if they are serious about enhancing student success” (Tinto, 2011, p. 3).

Expectations. The first attribute Tinto (2011) identifies as a contributor to student success is that of expectations. According to Tinto (2011), “high expectations are a condition for student success, low expectations a harbinger of failure” (p. 3). In the college or university environment, faculty members are responsible for setting expectations for their students and for communicating these expectations through various means. Course syllabi, assignments, online management sites, and conversations are the means through which expectations are generally communicated from professor to student. Tinto (2011) suggests, “students pick up quickly what is expected of them in the classroom and adjust their behaviors” (p. 3).

Support. First-year college students benefit from support aligned with classroom demands, especially students who may be under-prepared to succeed in the college environment (Tinto, 2011). Tinto explains, “alignment of support enables students to more easily translate support into success in the classroom” (2011, p. 3). Academic support is often vital to college students and other forms of support, such as social and financial, can also be important contributors to student success. Students need support to

meet the high expectations set forth by faculty, staff, and other members of the college or university community. Though few examples of successful academic support programs exist, Tinto (2011) discusses the success of the Integrated Basic Education and Skills Training (I-BEST) Initiative introduced in Washington State. The I-BEST Initiative provides students in need of remediation with basic skills instruction and college-level vocational and technical training at the same time, and is taught by a team of faculty members. Results of the initiative showed, among other successes, student participants were 9 times more likely to graduate than their peers. Though expensive to run, results so far have demonstrated the investment pays off as the success rates of students seemingly soars.

Assessment and feedback. The first year of college or university academic life often poses new obstacles and demands for students. As former students return to my office to discuss their grades in college courses, they observe that their final grade in a course is often based upon their success or failure on a few assignments, a mid-term, and a final exam. Sensibly, students who are assessed and given feedback throughout a semester are likely to be more successful than those who don't have an opportunity to make adjustments to their behaviors to promote success (Tinto, 2011). Classroom assessment techniques are not necessarily new, but new technologies can be used to "easily capture and analyze more and different data in ways that can provide a clearer view into student learning" (Tinto, 2011, p. 4). Purdue University utilizes such technologies and The Signals Project has proven effective in identifying students who could benefit from additional resources to find success in their courses. These types of

intervention have proven most effective during the first two years of the college or university academic journey (Tinto, 2011).

Involvement. Student involvement and engagement has been found to be a viable predictor of student success (Astin, 1999; Tinto, 2011). Past research reveals students who are involved and engaged in various aspects of campus life, particularly in the realm of academics, are more likely to earn their degree. In particular, “the more students are academically and socially engaged with faculty, staff, and peers, especially in classroom activities, the more likely they are to succeed in the classroom” (Tinto, 2011, p. 3).

Learning communities are one way through which growth in basic skills and promotion of academic and social support for students can be fostered. Through the use of cooperative and problem-based learning, students experience curriculum and learning in new ways (Tinto, 2011; Astin, 1999). Learning communities have been discussed thoroughly by Astin (1999), as effective means through which students can engage with their college or university coursework.

Astin’s Involvement Theory

Tinto (2011) discusses the importance of colleges and universities promoting student involvement and engagement as a component of student success. Student involvement “refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience” (Astin, 1999, p. 518). Astin (1999) stresses the behavioral components of involvement rather than a student’s personal feelings and thoughts associated with being involved. Involvement Theory, as proposed by Astin (1999) includes five postulates: (a) Involvement refers to the investment, both physical and psychological as described previously, in various objects which can be general or

specific in nature; (b) Involvement occurs along a continuum in that differences exist amongst students and within each individual student; (c) Involvement includes quantitative and qualitative features; (d) Student learning and development is directly proportional to quality and quantity of student involvement; and, (e) Effectiveness of educational practices and policies are related to their capacity to increase student involvement.

Astin (1999) discusses the development of learning theory as he was searching for a “mediating mechanism that would explain how these educational programs and policies are translated into student achievement and development” (p. 520). Oftentimes, it appears that administrators and faculty members are unaware of the educational theory guiding their work with students. In college and university settings, three common pedagogical theories emerged in Astin’s (1999) research and development of involvement theory. The first approach is described by Astin (1999) as the subject-matter theory through which students are seen as passive learners absorbing the knowledge of their professors who serve as subject-matter experts. High-achieving, well-prepared, and motivated students will likely stay connected and involved under this approach to learning while underprepared or slower students are unlikely to achieve.

The next approach to learning is described as Resource Theory (Astin, 1999). Resources are described as physical facilities, human resources, and fiscal resources, and “if adequate resources are brought together in one place, student learning and development will occur” (Astin, 1999, p. 520). Resources, such as student-faculty ratio, can be measured qualitatively and quantitatively. However, trade-offs can occur because institutional resources often cannot be devoted to addressing both quantity and quality

(Astin, 1999). Astin (1999) further describes this quandary as colleges and universities make decisions to commit resources to recruiting top-notch faculty or students, but the existence of high-quality faculty and students are not infinite. A second problem identified by Resource Theory is that once resources have been dedicated to a particular source, administrators and other stakeholders may not take the time to determine how the expenditure positively impacts students. The last pedagogical approach described by Astin (1999) is Individualized or Eclectic Theory. Expensive to implement because of its focus on the individual needs of students, this approach to learning includes student experiences both inside and outside of the classroom, but emphasizes the importance of elective choices to fulfill individual student needs and desires (Astin, 1999).

Pedagogical approaches are important but Involvement Theory “can provide a link between the variables emphasized in these theories and the learning outcomes desired by the student and the professor” (Astin, 1999, p. 522). Again, Astin (1999) stresses the importance of the behaviors of students and the processes that can promote student development. Student development into college graduates is believed to be directly related to the amount of time students are able to devote to getting involved in all aspects of campus life (Astin, 1999). Research supporting Involvement Theory is abundant and Astin’s own prior research conducted in 1977, supported his notion that student involvement leads to college success (Astin, 1999). Astin’s analysis of 200,000 students and more than 80 outcomes in 1977 led him to conclude, “nearly all forms of student involvement are associated with greater than average changes in entering freshman characteristics” (Astin, 1999, p. 524). Among other forms of involvement

highlighted by Astin (1999), frequent student-faculty interaction was “more strongly related to satisfaction with college than any other type of involvement” (p. 525).

Learning Communities

Research has shown underrepresented students tend to persist in post-secondary education when they have the opportunity to make viable connections to the entire community through academic and social interaction with peers (Astin, 1999; Swail et al., 2003; Tinto, 2011). Research has also exposed the vital role played by faculty members in college settings; in fact, relationships with faculty members have been found to positively impact the college success rates of African American students in particular (Astin, 1999, Swail et al., 2003; Tinto, 2011). Tinto (2003) discusses important and positive changes taking place in colleges and universities throughout the US as research in the 1980s led institutions of higher education to pursue more active and involved learning opportunities to engage and involve their students. Tinto (2003) describes these efforts as “learning communities and the collaborative pedagogy that underlies them” (p. 1).

Colleges and universities implement the idea of learning communities in many different ways. The basic concept of learning communities is to connect students and curriculum to each other in an organized and purposeful format (Tinto, 2003). Tinto (2003) highlights the common features of all learning communities: (a) shared knowledge; (b) shared knowing; and, (c) shared responsibility. Utilizing and expanding upon these common features, some colleges and universities have created living and learning communities, where freshmen students are enrolled in the same classes and live within close proximity to one another. Learning communities may also include a

community-service component, sometimes known as service-learning (Tinto, 2003).

Citing Jacoby (1996), Tinto (2003) defines service learning as a “pedagogical strategy, an inductive approach to education, grounded in the assumption that thoughtfully organized experience is the foundation for learning” (p. 4).

Few comprehensive research studies have examined the impact of learning communities, but Tinto (2003) did conduct such a study and found positive results. His research revealed students engaged in learning communities “spent more time together outside of class than did students in traditional, unrelated stand-alone classes and they did so in ways which students saw as supportive” (Tinto, 2003, p. 5). Learning communities encouraged students to actively involve themselves and one another in their learning experiences, to spend time learning together outside of class and to bridge the academic and social divide often characteristic of college and university life (Tinto, 2003). Students involved in learning communities also felt enriched by their learning experiences, and because of their engagement in their own and others’ learning these students persisted at higher rates than traditional students (Tinto, 2003).

The Role of Faculty

Past research (Astin, 1999; Williams, 2006; Swail et al., 2003; Tinto, 2003, 2011) recognized the vital role faculty members can play in the success rates of students, particularly when discussing the success rates of underrepresented student groups. However, empty interactions between faculty and students are not effective in and of themselves; faculty members must learn to actively engage their students in the curriculum. Tinto (2011) acknowledges “faculty. . . are not trained to teach their students” (p. 5). As faculty members work with a wider variety of students with different

needs and different skills, they need to be exposed to “pedagogy, curriculum, and assessment in ways that would help them to be more effective with their students” (Tinto, 2011, p. 5). Thus, faculty-development programs that are well developed, far reaching, and required of all new faculty could prove fruitful as a collegial atmosphere can assist new and old faculty members to develop of effective skills needed to promote student success in college and university classrooms (Tinto, 2011).

Student Success at UCB

Student success is one of the components upon which ODECE focuses and recognizes as vital to improving diversity programs and policies at UCB (ODECE, n.d.b). A separate tab for student success exists on the ODECE Website, and the goal for student success at UCB facilitated by ODECE is clearly stated:

The goal of the student success component of ODECE is to work in partnership with all students, student-serving groups, academic support units across the schools and colleges, the Office of Admissions, and the Graduate School to attract and retain successful undergraduate and graduate students from diverse backgrounds. (ODECE, n.d.b)

On the Student Success tab, four UCB programs are highlighted and links to each program’s specific Webpage are included: (a) CU-LEAD; (b) Pre-College Services; (c) Disability Services; and, (d) Upward Bound. Other resources for student success on the ODECE Website include Graduate Students and Programs (no link to additional Websites included), UROP (includes a dead link to an additional Website), Study Abroad, and SORCE (Student Outreach and Retention Center for Equity).

CU-LEAD Alliance

The CU Leadership, Excellence, Achievement and Diversity (CU-LEAD) Alliance, established in 2000 by ODECE, is described as a set of learning communities

that include students, faculty and staff who work together to promote inclusive excellence (ODECE, n.d.b). These learning communities target students of color and first generation students and are characterized by enhanced instruction, small group classes, leadership activities, computer labs, personal connections to faculty and staff, scholarships, research experiences, advising, mentoring, tutoring, and community service (ODECE, n.d.b). The learning communities supported by the CU-LEAD Alliance include programs specific to schools and colleges at UCB, as well as programs that serve students regardless of their declared majors. Currently, seven programs operate under a specific school/college and four programs serve students across majors and disciplines.

The school/college specific CU-LEAD programs are described in detail on individual Webpages to which links are provided from the ODECE homepage. These programs have been developed in the following areas: (a) Architecture and Planning, Designers Without Boundaries; (b) Arts and Sciences, Miramontes Arts and Sciences Program (MASP); (c) Business, Diverse Scholars Program; (d) Education, Education Diversity Scholars Program; (e) Engineering, the Broadening Opportunity through Leadership and Diversity (BOLD) Program; (f) Journalism, Journalism Diversity Scholars Program; and (g) Music, Diverse Musicians Alliance Program. Programs that are identified as serving students across schools and colleges at UCB include: (a) Chancellor's Leadership Residential Academic Program (CLR) and Ethnic Living and Learning Community (ELLC), (b) Honors CU-Lead Scholars Program, (c) McNeill Academic Program, and (d) Ronald E. McNair Post Baccalaureate Achievement Program. Program overviews and program reports are available for public perusal, with links from the ODECE-> CU-LEAD Webpages.

Beyond these specific learning communities developed for participants in the CU-LEAD Alliance, affiliated programs in existence at UCB to further support these students are also identified on the Webpage. The Center for Multicultural Affairs (CMA), First Generation Scholars Program, White Antelope Memorial Scholarship Program (WAMS), and Career Services provide a variety of support services for underrepresented students and students enrolled in the CU-LEAD Alliance programs. Beyond the aforementioned programs that support the academic and personal/social goals of identified student groups at UCB, three feeder programs exist to provide potential UCB students with the information and support they need to eventually earn a college degree. The Academic Excellence Program, Pre-Collegiate Development Program, and Upward Bound provide opportunities to both college and high school students to actively engage in the UCB campus community before, during, and after they pursue college degrees. Again, extensive information about each of these programs is readily available on each program's specific Webpage.

The CU-LEAD Alliance Fact Sheet (2004) is available on the Webpage and provides information about the success of the various programs in operation from 1998 through the 2003-2004 school year. The primary goal of the Alliance neighborhoods as stated on this fact sheet is to "increase recruitment, retention, and graduation rates for students of color and first generation students" (ODECE, 2004). The success rates of program participants, last updated in 2003-04, were summarized as an 85% retention rate and 79% graduation rate. The growth of the CU-Lead Alliance programs from 1998-99 through 2003-04 can be seen in Table V.1. The 11 programs existing in 2003-04 continue to support students in 2012-2013.

Table V.1.

CU-LEAD Alliance at a Glance

Academic Year	'98-'99	'99-'00	'00-'01	'01-'02	'02-'03	'03-'04
Number of CU-LEAD Programs	2	3	5	7	8	11
Number of Student Participants*	258	319	400	481	936	1109
Number of Scholarships Awarded*	0	52	98	249	379	485
Total Scholarship Dollar Amounts (rounded)*	0	\$52k	\$65k	\$259k	\$385k	\$500k

*Approximate numbers

Pre-College Services

Pre-College services at UCB fall under the governance of the Pre-Collegiate Development Program (PCDP). Information about the PCDP at UCB can be found on the Webpage located at <http://www.colorado.edu/odece/pcdp/index.html>. As described on this Webpage, the PCDP at Boulder “is an institutionally-funded academic enhancement program for targeted middle and high school students. It is designed to motivate and prepare first generation students in pursuit of higher education” (ODECE, n.d.c). The program provides students with opportunities for academic enhancement, leadership development, helps students explore college and career options, provides assistance with the college application and financial aid process, prepares students for college entrance examinations, and otherwise removes barriers that may pose obstacles for underrepresented and first-generation students interested in pursuing a higher education.

The PDCP is not open to all students throughout the state of Colorado; instead, the PCDP has developed a list of target middle and high schools from which they hope to recruit, retain, and graduate a more diverse group of students from UCB. Students must apply to the PCDP, and their parents must be actively involved in the activities and

services provided to help students and their parents become college ready. The central activity of the PCDP includes a one-month long residential summer session that takes place on the Boulder campus for students who have completed their junior year of high school. Of the 71 PCDP participants in the program at UCB during the 2011-2012, all applied for admission to UCB; 59 of these students were offered admission to the Boulder campus and 29 of those accepted ultimately enrolled at the university (Office of Academic Affairs, 2012). Of the 71 program participants on the Boulder campus, 94% reported they intended to attend a four-year college upon graduating from high school (Office of Academic Affairs, 2012).

Disability Services

Disability Services provide services and/or accommodations to qualified students with the intention of providing “equal educational opportunity through programmatic access to the Boulder campus community” (ODECE, n.d.d). On the Webpage, disabilities are described as learning disabilities, psychiatric/psychological disabilities, physical/systemic, visual, hearing, ADD/ADHD, and traumatic brain injury. On the Disability Services Webpage and in the brochure, the following statement regarding diversity is made: “We are proud that CU-Boulder is committed to diversity and includes students with disabilities as one of the many groups that make up our campus community” (Disability Services Brochure, 2007, p. 2). Extensive information about disabilities, accommodations and services available to students, the process for determining services an individual may qualify for, and resources for faculty and staff are available directly on the Disability Services Webpage.

Upward Bound

A Federal TRIO Program first established in 1965 as part of President Johnson's War on Poverty, Upward Bound "provides fundamental support to participants in their preparation for college entrance" (ODECE, n.d.e). The Upward Bound program at UCB provides 80 high school students, from targeted areas located on or near 13 Native American reservations throughout the country, with academic instruction and an opportunity to experience college before high school graduation (ODECE, n.d.e). First generation and/or low-income high school students in grades 9-11 from the targeted areas or high schools are eligible to apply to the program. Participants spend six weeks on the Boulder campus, live in dorms, and take classes. Upon completing the summer program, students become eligible to earn a total of \$140 in stipend monies, and a chance to earn extra high school credits (ODECE, n.d.,e). During the regular school year, the participants are given monthly homework assignments, and can receive a monthly stipend of \$20 if the assignments are completed in a timely manner. The UCB Upward Bound program Webpage provides extensive information about the various aspects encompassed within the program, as well as contact information.

SORCE

Student Outreach and Retention Center for Equity (SORCE) came to life during the 1999-2000 school year. Developed by students for students, the purpose of the center is to provide underrepresented students with resources, plan community events for community building, and prevent burn-out. As envisioned early on, "the student center was a method of changing the campus climate by encompassing multiculturalism, acting

as a centralized hub for all outreach and retention programs on campus, incorporating student driven initiatives, and embracing all underrepresented students” (SORCE, n.d.).

In Spring of 2000, Dara Burwell and the students who originated the concept of SORCE, asked for seed money and drafted legislation which later passed through the University of Colorado Student Union. From spring of 2000 to fall of 2003, SORCE was an active group on campus, secured a center location in the newly renovated Student Memorial Center surrounded by the underrepresented student group office. In spring of 2004 SORCE became a fully operational cost center under the leadership of the newly elected tri-executives, a legislative council, Diversity Director Kerry Kite, and Student Affairs Director Joseph Neguse. The SORCE Website provides extensive information about its mission, history, outreach, programs, and community events (SORCE, n.d.). Victor Hernandez currently serves as director of SORCE, assisted by Karen Shimamoto and five other diverse members of the UCB student body.

Assessing and Improving Learning Goals at UCB

In May of 2012, the Office of Planning, Budget, and Analysis summarized the various ways through which undergraduate student learning and outcomes are assessed and improved upon at the University of Colorado Boulder (University of Colorado Boulder PBA, 2012). Expectations for degree recipients, known as skill and knowledge goals, are published by each Bachelor’s degree program in the CU-Boulder catalog. Each school and college is responsible for assessing these goals and making changes and improvements to teaching methods, course content, course offerings, degree requirements, and advising. The Provost and Council of Deans approved a list of learning goals for BA graduates in 2011.

At UCB, 70% of undergraduates are required to complete a core curriculum in the College of Arts and Sciences. Students complete coursework across seven content areas and are provided with a variety of elective choices to fulfill the requirements. Research based writing instruction is provided to students at all undergraduate levels utilizing The Program for Writing and Rhetoric. Professional faculty members teach writing to undergraduate students and a writing support center is available to all students on campus.

To improve retention and graduation rates of first-year, full-time students UCB requires all students to participate in orientation sessions prior to the start of the academic school year where students register for courses, get advising, and learn about the campus. A new mathematics assessment, ALEKS, was most recently implemented in 2012 to ensure new students are placed correctly into mathematics courses. Advising in the School of Arts and Sciences has also been tailored to provide a more personalized service to first year students. Each department and school encompassed within the University is focused upon the learning outcomes of students, as defined by the completion of a set of key courses or acquiring specific knowledge and skills within each discipline.

New technologies are being introduced and utilized by schools and departments at UCB to enhance student understanding and to actively engage students in the learning process. The Faculty Teaching and Excellence Program, Graduate Teacher Program, and the President's Teaching Scholars Program are examples of programs that have been implemented to improve teaching and learning. The results from student surveys and Faculty Course Questionnaires are analyzed and made public on the Web to improve programs and teaching. Graduation rates and time to degree are monitored and

publicized, and are used to better understand and ultimately improve the experiences of students at University of Colorado Boulder.

Graduation and Retention Rates

In September of 2010, the Colorado Department of Higher Education (DHE) conducted a review of the performance contract of the University of Colorado System, originally established in 2004, signed into existence in 2005, and implemented through June 30, 2009. Upon this last performance review conducted by the Colorado Department of Higher Education in 2010, retention and graduation rates of underrepresented students, among other measures, were of particular interest. As of the publish date of this report, the retention rates of resident, first-time, full-time degree seeking minority students from fall 2003 to fall 2007 at UCB, ranged from a high of 85% in fall 2006 to a low of 82% in 2005 and 2007 (CCHE Performance Contract Review, 2010). Graduation and retention rates of full-time first-time freshmen at UCB are detailed in Table V.2.

Six-year graduation rates for the same group of students were also tracked from 1997 to 2002. UCB reported graduation rates from a low of 58% in 1997 and 2000, to a high of 61% in 2002. UCB's graduation rates are substantially higher than those reported by either the University of Colorado at Denver or University of Colorado at Colorado Springs (CCHE Performance Contract Review, 2010, p. 8). Upon review of the most updated performance contract established through 2009, the DHE extended the monitoring time-line until December 31, 2015 and established new goals for retention and graduation rates of all first-time, full-time students. The University of Colorado System goal for retention of all students stands at 85%, and at 88% specifically at UCB; the state retention average in this report was identified as 73% (CCHE Performance

Contract Review, 2010, p. 17). The goal for increasing six-year graduation rates across the University System to 66% is well above the 50% national average. By 2015, Boulder is expected to increase the six-year graduation rate of all first-time, full-time students to 71% from 66.8% (CCHE Performance Contract Review, 2010, p. 17). Among other measures specified in the performance contract (2005), the University is required to report retention and graduation rates on a yearly basis to the Colorado Department of Higher Education.

Table V. 2

Graduation and one-year retention rates of full-time first-time freshmen at the original institution

Group	Measure	At	UCB	Highest in State*	UCB Rank*
All freshmen	4 yr Grad	Original Entry School	37.5%	41.6%	2
	5 yr Grad		60.9%	60.9%	1
	6 yr Grad		67.7%	67.7%	1
	1 yr retention		83.1%	83.1%	1
Minority freshmen	6 yr Grad		59.6%	59.6%	1
	1 year retention		83.0%	83.0%	1

*Comparison to others in state does not include Colorado School of Mines or private colleges. (CCHE, 2004).

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF RACE AND DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS CLIMATE

According to Swail, Redd, and Perna (2003), campus climate is a critical factor for predicting and achieving successful student outcomes in college, particularly for students of color. Research suggests that campus climate is a critical factor related to student retention and ultimately, college degree completion. Campus climate is described by Swail et al. (2003) as a mediator of:

undergraduates' academic and social experiences in college. Minority students inadequately prepared for non-academic challenges can experience culture shock. Lack of diversity in the student population, faculty, staff, and curriculum often restrict the nature and quality of minority students' interactions within and out of the classroom, threatening their academic performance and social experiences. (p. 8)

Cress (2008) succinctly describes campus climate as “the metaphorical temperature gauge by which we measure a welcoming and receptive, versus a cool and alienating learning environment” (p. 96).

As discussed in previous chapters throughout this dissertation, many benefits are associated with a students' ability to persist and earn their college degree. Of the benefits discussed, prolonging life and earning occupational prestige are among the most important (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999). Data tracking college persistence rates toward degree attainment have remained stable at 45% since 1885; unfortunately, over time ethnicity has proven to be an important factor in success as well (Porter, 1990). Acknowledging Porter's (1990) research, Cabrera et al. (1999) discuss the role ethnicity plays in the success rates of students, with data indicating that “African Americans are 20% less likely to complete college within a six year period. For

every two White students who drop out in this time frame, three African Americans have departed from a postsecondary institution” (p. 3).

Given the reality highlighted by such data, researchers have examined the persistence rates of minority students working toward earning a college degree. Several hypotheses to explain the racial differences in college graduation rates have been proposed as possible explanations for such differences, including academic preparedness and financial-aid packages (Cabrera et al., 1999, p. 3). As hypotheses are proposed, discriminatory campus climates have emerged as one of the main explanations for differences in the college success rates of minority and White students (Cabrera et al., 1999, p. 3). As Cabrera et al. (1999) describe, “experiences of prejudice and discrimination are associated with psychological distress that can lead to maladjustment of students in their respective institutions” (p. 4). In this regard, the transactional model discussed and cited by Cabrera et al. (1999) was proposed by Munoz (1987) and Smedley, Myers, and Harrell (1993). This model is specific to minority students because stressors associated with discriminatory climates have been found to be present only among minority students, negatively impacting their academic performance (Cabrera et al., 1999, p. 3). However, research on discriminatory practices and their effects is somewhat limited, as “firm conclusions regarding the effect of discrimination and prejudice on the adjustment of students to college remain to be established” (Cabrera et al., 1999, p. 4).

In their study of factors influencing college adjustment and perceptions of discrimination on college campuses across the country, Cabrera et al. (1999) found a variety of factors influence the college lives of White and minority students making this

transition. As revealed in their study, both White and African American students perceive racial discrimination on college campuses and are greatly impacted by these perceptions. However, they found that discriminatory racial practices impacted “goal commitments only among Whites and social experiences only among African Americans” (p. 20). Though responses to discriminatory practices on college campuses vary across student populations, persistence decisions among Whites and African Americans seem to be related to similar factors, including academic preparedness, interactions with faculty and other students, parental support and encouragement, and academic success in college (p. 21).

Cabrera et al. (1999) recognized that their study is not comprehensive, but the implications suggest that students appear to adjust to the college setting in similar ways. Cureton (2003) conducted a similar study that produced similar results and revealed that campus environment significantly predicts the academic success of Black college students; in this study, factors believed to hinder the academic progress of minority students were not race specific. The academic progress and college transition of all students appears to be mediated by several factors, including but not limited to, socioeconomic status, self-concept, adverse situations, and university reputation.

Though no significant race-specific findings were identified by Cabrera et al. (1999) or Cureton (2003) in these particular studies, it is important to continue exploring college experiences utilizing a racial lens to address “students’ needs and effectively [deal] with matriculation, attrition, and retention” (Cureton, 2003, p. 308). Cabrera et al. (1999) reiterate the importance of acknowledging racial differences and educating all individuals that are part of the campus community. After all, if college campuses are

more diverse, and diversity is truly valued, all students should be provided with the opportunity to learn with and about other people and cultures in a formal way (Cabrera et al., 1999, p. 22). Education can be provided to students, faculty, and staff members through a variety of contexts to reduce acts of discrimination and to garner a better sense of community and caring on college campuses.

A Focus on Diversity: Starting at the Top

In 1999, Freeman Hrabowski III, published an article titled, “Creating a Climate for Success”. At the time, Hrabowski was serving as President of University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC), founded as a historically diverse institution upon its opening in 1966, and enrolling a student population that consisted of approximately 30% minority students. One of the first encounters he experienced with students on campus was with a group of minority students who were protesting “climate” issues; a staff member reassured the new president that he had no need to worry: “This happens every spring” (Hrabowski, 1999, p. 1). Recognizing the role he played as President of an institution priding itself upon the diversity of its students, Hrabowski did worry, and he took action.

UMBC is known for strong science, math and engineering programs, but student success rates in these disciplines had not been examined thoroughly prior to Hrabowski’s arrival as President. He created a President’s Council consisting of faculty and administrators to better understand why students were not succeeding and to develop a plan to improve the academic achievement of all students. The data examined by the Council revealed several minority students, among others, did not possess the academic skills that they needed to succeed. Utilizing this information, the President, faculty, staff, and students worked to strengthen tutorial and academic support centers across the

campus, examined admission standards, and focused on creating a more positive campus climate for minority students (Hrabowski, 1999, p. 2). Further, the University established a special program, the Meyerhoff Program, and created a competitive and desirable scholarship, focused upon recognizing the academic success of African-Americans in science and engineering.

The success of UMBC in educating and preparing minority students for careers in a demanding and competitive realm is respectable, but Hrabowski's focus and leadership were admirable. He recognized the importance of bringing the entire campus community together and acknowledged, "Our success has been the result of a constant effort by faculty and administrators, working together, to understand the issues related to minority achievement and to implement best practices" (Hrabowski, 1999, p. 1). UMBC's success provides a platform from which other college campuses can launch their efforts to improve minority student achievement. Of course, as UMBC and the leaders there model, the success of such efforts rely upon participation from "every facet of the campus experience" (Hrabowski, 1999, p. 1).

Hrabowski would likely be labeled as a transformational leader; he was a leader focused upon increasing "the institutional capacity to select its purposes and to support changes in teaching and learning" (Cartner, Love, & Trammell, 2010, p. 1). According to Love et al. (2010), transformational leadership is one fruitful avenue through which the needs of minority students can be identified and acknowledged, and through which changes that benefit all students can take place. Focusing primarily on African-American students at predominantly White institutions, Love et al. (2010), reported that "African-American students find it difficult to assimilate on predominantly White campuses due to

cultural differences and learning styles” (p. 1). In order to address the needs of these students, leaders need to “enact institutional change through a shared and authentic vision,” adopting the successful measures used by transformational leaders to “create a learning environment that engages a shared community” (Love et al., 2010, p. 1). An important piece of enacting change is understanding what needs to be changed; campus climate surveys are one tool leaders can utilize to determine what kind of change may be needed.

Campus Climate Surveys

Cress (2008) conducted a national survey of students attending 130 American colleges and universities to gain insight into their perceptions of campus climate. Though research introduced here suggests that Black and White students experience similar issues during their transitions into the college setting (Cabrera et al., 1999; Cureton, 2003), the research conducted by Cress (2008) suggests, “Students of color were significantly more likely than White students to report that they perceived negative behaviors and hostile attitudes directed toward women and ethnic/racial minorities on their campus” (p. 98). Further, she found Black students perceived a more negative campus climate than the other groups of students included in the study (Cress, 2008, p. 99). This study also revealed that students are more likely to perceive discrimination coming from students and targeting students, than coming from individual faculty members or other institutional sources (Cress, 2008, p. 102).

The role of individual faculty members proves to be even more vital, as “positive student-faculty relationships have a strong mitigating effect on campus climate” (Cress, 2008, p. 104). Further, students who experience positive faculty relationships are likely to

earn higher grade point averages and feel more confident in their academic abilities, which are factors indicative of persisting in and ultimately, graduating from college and becoming successful citizens in our global economy (Cress, 2008). Fostering personal and academic relationships between students and faculty members seems to be a reasonable expectation that has the potential to produce positive outcomes, particularly for students on the margins and students of color, in particular. The importance of faculty members in the lives of students further highlights the need for a more diverse faculty presence on college campuses throughout the country, an issue far broader than the scope of this dissertation.

Assessing Campus Climate

Assessing campus climate is not a new concept. In the UCB Archives, results of a September 1969 Report of the Community Relations Service Student Unrest Survey provide insight into the Boulder campus climate decades ago. The Community Relations Service (1969) surveyed students at 101 secondary schools with at least 10% minority enrollment and thirty nine colleges and/or universities with a 5% minority population. The survey was conducted in seventeen states, including Colorado. Student perspectives on campus climate at UCB were included in this report. The surveyors were particularly interested in understanding “student unrest” on college and high school campuses across the United States.

As reported, 76% of the surveyed institutions of higher learning indicated some form of student unrest during the 1968 school year. The majority of college students and college administrators interviewed felt student unrest would continue, and students stated emphatically that the problems generating unrest had not been resolved. In the incidents

reported by those interviewed, police were called in to settle disturbances, or as a preventive measure, over 60% of the time, and used force in over half of these situations. Though the symptoms of unrest were seen to vary at both the high school and college levels, three fundamental issues emerged; the most prominent issue concerned the existence of institutional racism.

To address their concerns, students made four major demands of their educational institutions including, (a) placing more minority personnel policy making positions (38% of the college students made demands not only for more minority administrators but instructors and students, and 23% of the colleges surveyed listed this demand), and (b) ending racism and other discriminating, demoralizing practices be ended in all school activities (i.e., fraternities, athletics, sororities, debating teams, etc.). Harassment of minorities by students, teachers, and/or administrators should cease. These demands were made in 45% of high schools and 31% of the colleges surveyed. (c) Forty-three percent of high schools made requests for more minority awareness studies. Fifty percent of colleges made some demand for setting up these studies or modifying existing programs. (d) Forty-seven percent of colleges received demands for student power and policy making. Demands included having an equal student voice in curriculum planning, in creating codes of student conduct, dress, and in hiring and firing of faculty. Results from 1969 are demonstrative of the unstable and turbulent nature of the times. It is important to keep in mind the context of the time period when interpreting the results, especially if one wishes to make connections to present-day campus climate survey results

Campus Climate at UCB Today

The most recent UCB campus climate survey results from 2010 are discussed in some detail in this section. The Campus Climate Survey (2010) conducted at UCB included the responses of 7,777 students. This group of survey respondents included perspectives shared by individuals representing all racial and ethnic backgrounds of graduate and undergraduate students on the campus as follows: 74% White, 6.9% Hispanic, 6.5% Asian, 5.25% International, 1.6% African American, and 1% Native American. The majority of respondents expressed a positive view of the climate at UCB, with 80% of these undergraduate and graduate students reporting “feeling welcome and accepted either often or very often” (Campus Climate Survey, 2010, p. 1). Eighty-eight percent of students participating in the survey reported feeling comfortable in classes, 80% felt intellectually stimulated, and the majority felt UCB was accepting of diverse perspectives inside (81%) and outside of the classroom (63%) (Campus Climate Survey, 2010).

Data across student groups suggests the campus climate during the survey year, 2010, was relatively positive; however, African American students and students with psychological or psychiatric disabilities rated the campus climate lower than other groups of individuals, but the ratings for the campus remained above average. In comparison with 2001 and 2006, climate changes on the campus as revealed by the 2010 survey seem positive, as African American students reported feeling more comfortable on and off the campus. This trend was similar among other student groups, which also reported an upward trend in positive perceptions of the campus climate since 2006.

In 2010, students reported that the Boulder community, staff, and administrators valued diversity at higher rates than in the past (Campus Climate Survey, 2010). On the contrary, students reported that student government, course instructors, and other students valued diversity at lower rates than those reported in previous years. Another important item on the UCB Campus Climate Survey (2010) asked students to rate how important diversity should be at the University. Since, 2001, students have indicated diversity should be valued at high levels by the University; in 2010, student ratings increased over previous years, suggesting diversity should continue to be a high priority because it is valued by the entire UCB community.

The 2006 Campus Climate Survey conducted at UCB included a sample of 418 undergraduate students and 148 graduate students who successfully and voluntarily completed a Web-based questionnaire. Of the undergraduate and graduate survey respondents, 25% were classified as White and the remaining 75% were classified as minority group members or international students. In 2001, 629 undergraduate and graduate students responded to the Campus Climate Survey and represented the same 25% White/75% minority/international student breakdown as the 2006 survey. Similar to earlier discussions of the importance of campus climate (Cabrera et al., 1999; Cureton, 2003), survey questions concerning campus climate should be specific and focused upon the particular experiences of the respondents to get a true sense of a school's campus climate. The 2006 UCB Campus Climate Survey asked students about their level of comfort on the campus and in the community, whether they felt they fit in and were welcome at UCB, and their experiences with stereotyping and negative remarks and behaviors directed toward others.

Campus wide results in 2006 appeared to be relatively positive with the majority of respondents reporting the campus to be “friendly and welcoming” inside and outside of the classroom (Campus Climate Survey, 2006, p. 1). Further, “approximately 80% of both undergraduate and graduate students report that they are comfortable being in class” (p. 1). Nevertheless, students viewed the campus environment outside of the classroom setting less favorably, “with less than half of both undergraduates and graduates saying that CU-Boulder is accepting of diversity outside the classroom” (p. 1). As previous research (Cureton, 2003) indicated, positive interactions and relationships with faculty members can have a mitigating effect on perceptions of a negative campus climate. At Boulder, faculty members appear to make a positive impact as 80% of students indicate: “Faculty value diversity and seldom make disparaging remarks directed toward others” (p. 1). Overall campus wide results appear favorable of the campus climate at UCB.

Although differences across racial and ethnic groups at UCB were relatively small, African American students rated the campus and surrounding community climate less favorably than other groups (UCB Campus Climate Survey, 2006). African Americans and Hispanics also reported hearing derogatory remarks more frequently than other racial/ethnic student groups. These findings are in line with previous research by Cress (2008), who indicated African Americans, particularly males, are more likely than other students to perceive a negative campus climate. In terms of gender differences, men and women had similar perspectives in terms of campus climate, with both groups reporting generally positive experiences at UCB and the surrounding community. Women did report hearing disparaging remarks toward others more frequently than men, and were more likely to challenge such remarks and/or behaviors.

Undergraduate and graduate students also reported similar perceptions of campus climate (UCB Campus Climate Survey, 2006). However, graduate students reported feeling more comfortable with the academic setting and interacting with faculty members on campus. Given the nature of the undergraduate versus the graduate experience, it seems likely graduate students are more comfortable interacting with faculty members because they have more experience doing so. Regardless, research on campus climate does highlight the importance of faculty-student interactions and relationships (Cress, 2008; Cureton, 2003; Cabrera et al., 1999) in navigating successfully through the college process.

International students are another subgroup whose responses were examined closely utilizing the Campus Climate Survey (2006). Though these students expressed general feelings of comfort with all aspects of the academic and social settings at UCB and in the surrounding community, results in 2006 demonstrated a noticeable decline since 2001. East Asian international students, in particular, reported feeling less comfortable with social settings on campus and in Boulder and reported hearing derogatory remarks more often than other groups of students (UCB Campus Climate Survey, 2006).

Comparisons Over Time

The 2010 administration of the Campus Climate Survey was the third in Boulder's history, following the administration of the 2006 and 2001 climate surveys. In 1994 and 1998, community surveys were administered to assess campus climate, differing from the campus climate surveys because of their focus on making comparisons and assessing the perceptions of members across racial/ethnic groups. Though these

surveys differ from each other, comparisons of the results collected through all survey administrations can be used to make comparisons over time. Overall, since 1994, survey results reveal little change in undergraduates' and graduates' ratings of campus climate through 2010. Though few differences are found in survey responses over time, some differences were notable in the campus climate ratings shared by African American students, both negative and positive.

African American students reported feeling more comfortable being in class, interacting with faculty outside of class, and feeling accepted in 2001 and 2006, compared to 1994 and 1998. However, perceptions of the social climate at UCB outside of the classroom setting and ratings of UCB as “the place to be” declined between 2001 and 2006. In 2006, African Americans also reported feeling “different and overwhelmed” (Campus Climate Survey Results, 2006). A positive change for African American students was reported in 2010, as the group reported feeling more comfortable on campus than in 2006. Even so, the 2010 survey suggests a need for continued improvement in promoting and accepting diversity with all members of the campus community, especially student government, course instructors, and other students.

Other Important Trends

Student respondents to the UCB campus climate surveys were asked to associate themselves with one group identity they felt was most salient. Students who chose race/ethnicity as their most salient identity expressed a less favorable view of campus climate than those who chose other identities. Further, this group of respondents reported that faculty members had lower expectations of members of their group. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender (GLBT) student perspectives were collected and analyzed for

the 2006 survey. In general, these students were not as positive as other students about the campus climate at UCB. This group of students also reported feeling “different” at a much higher rate than non-GLBT students. Similarly, students with disabilities shared important perspectives regarding campus climate at UCB in 2006. Though this group of students rated the climate less favorably than students without disabilities, they still deemed classrooms to be accessible and comfortable.

When interpreting the results of the various campus climate surveys on the UCB campus, a relatively positive, comfortable, and accepting climate seemingly emerges overall as reported by all student groups represented on the campus. Faculty members at UCB also seem accepting and encouraging of all students and are perceived by their students to value diversity. However, the climate surveys draw attention to some shortcomings. As stated in the 2006 report, “campus diversity efforts seem to be making a difference for African-American undergraduate students. . . but more work needs to be done to ensure that they are comfortable here” (p. 5). The perceptions of international students reflect additional areas to which UCB must pay attention and take action to make changes. A campus wide effort to make changes to positively impact campus climate seems necessary. Cress (2008) suggests involving the entire campus community, specifically White students and faculty members who make up the majority of college campuses to, “create learning communities that are characterized by equality of opportunity as well as by equality of treatment” (p. 108).

Are Perceptions Accurate Reflections of Reality?

In their study of campus climate, Gurin, Matlock, Wade-Golden, and Gurin (2004) focused upon racial tension as they recognized that, “whether the perception of

racial tension is used by advocates of diversity to rationalize institutional reforms that support the success of students of color or by critics of affirmative action to rationalize the ending of race conscious policies in higher education, we need a more complex understanding of what racial tension means to students on our campuses” (p. 6). To gain insight into this complex issue, the researchers analyzed perception data of students collected from a 1994 survey of students attending the University of Michigan.

Findings reflected that 60% of African Americans compared to 25% of Asian American and White students perceived much interracial tension and racial conflict on campus (Gurin et al., 2004, p. 6). However, when those surveyed were asked to reflect upon their personal experiences with interracial tension and racial conflict during their college years, a minority of African American students (13%-20%), though a considerably higher percentage than Asian and White students (1-2% of Whites and 10% of Asians), reported personal experiences with racial tension and conflict. Data led the researchers to conclude that perceptions of racial tension and interracial conflict are more abundant than real student experiences with these issues in their personal relationships with others. Further, survey respondents also recognized the importance of the positive cross-cultural relationships that they had developed during their college years.

Interestingly, Gurin et al. (2004) discovered that “perception of tension reflected a particular socio-political viewpoint” across student groups (p. 8). Those students who perceived interracial conflict and racial tension on campus also believed most strongly that racial barriers still exist, believe institutions and other structural forces contribute to inequality, and were the most favorable toward affirmative action policies (p. 8). As survey respondents participated in the survey throughout their time at the university,

students' evolving socio-political viewpoints were also tracked and changes were noted. Changes in racial tension were found to be associated with increasing awareness of racial barriers and greater support of affirmative action policies to counteract structural inequality (Gurin et al., 2004).

As this study illustrates, perceptions and actual experiences do differ, but perceptions are just as real as the experiences of students living, learning, interacting and growing during their college years. As highlighted by other data presented here (Cabrera et al., 1999; Cureton, 2003; Cress, 2008), African American students tend to perceive campus climate more negatively than other student groups. Gurin et al. (2004) suggest experiencing racial tension is to be expected, "when students who have rarely interacted across race/ethnicity in our very segregated society are brought together on college campuses" (p. 9). Regardless, universities and colleges should take an active role to provide all students with structured opportunities for positive interactions with diverse groups of people (p. 9). Gurin et al. (2004) highlight, "campus experiences with diversity did not foster negative views of the campus climate" (p. 9).

How should universities structure opportunities for students to interact positively with diverse groups of people? What has UCB done to address issues associated with promoting a positive racial climate by providing these types of opportunities to students, faculty, staff, and community members? UCB's experience with diversity will be discussed in further detail in Chapters VII and VIII.

CHAPTER VII

RACE, DIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY, AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

In recent years, the role of universities in promoting and participating in community engagement efforts, positively impacting the communities each serves, has become increasingly significant (McNall, Reed, Brown, & Allen, 2008). The growing importance of community engagement became evident when the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification was established in 2006 (McNall et al., 2008). This classification will be maintained and overseen by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the New England Resource Center for Higher Education (NERCHE) (McNall et al., 2008). Currently, 196 institutions of higher education have been classified in Community Engagement. In Colorado, Colorado State University, Regis University and the University of Denver earned the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification in 2008.

Community engagement is included as a chapter in this dissertation because community engagement draws attention from the Office of Diversity and Community Engagement (ODECE) at the University of Colorado Boulder, if only because of the name of the office. Community Engagement is defined by the Carnegie Foundation (2009) as “the collaboration between institutions of higher education and larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity” (p. 1). Due to several factors, including the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification system established in 2006, an abundance of professional development opportunities and networks, and the inclusion of community engagement indicators by regional

accreditation bodies assessing institutional quality, engagement has become a new buzzword in higher education. As is often the case with rhetoric, implementation efforts have been inconsistent across colleges and universities throughout the United States.

Weerts and Sandmann (2010) acknowledge that, “while interest in community engagement in higher education is on the rise. . . research universities have been slower to implement engagement compared to non-research institutions” (p. 703). Several factors explain the lack of or slower implementation of community-engagement efforts at research universities, including (a) the size of these universities, (b) the complexity of the governing structures that characterize these universities, and (c) the reputation of well-known and widely respected researchers who “advance traditional forms of scholarship” and work at larger research universities (Weerts & Sandmann, 2010, p. 703).

State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

In 1995, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges sought the support of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation “to examine the future of higher education” as the dawning of a new era was seemingly accompanied by deep-rooted changes taking place in these institutions (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 15). The Kellogg Commission on the Future of State Universities and Land-Grant Institutions [Kellogg Commission] (1999), discusses the rich history of the land-grant ideal of public university service to communities and the nation. The concept of the state university and land-grant college was founded by Justin Morrill and Abraham Lincoln “to provide a new kind of education to suit the needs of agricultural workers and industrial labor”, as universities enlightened and educated workers in these fields and helped transform the local, national, and international economy (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 18). As a

result of their early efforts, “together, state colleges and universities and land-grant institutions have educated hundreds of millions of Americans at very affordable prices” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 17). In their analysis of the vital historical and future role state universities and land-grant colleges play in contributing to American society and transforming our global economy, the Kellogg Commission (1999) includes the efforts made by “1862 institutions and the historically Black colleges universities and tribal institutions brought into the fold in 1890 and 1994, respectively,” as well as “every public institution intent on meeting community needs through teaching, research, and service” (p. 17). Embodying equal access to education and service to communities, the institutions identified as state universities and land-grant colleges have proven successful in providing educational access and serving their communities, but there is much work left to be done.

The success of students who have attended public institutions is undeniable, but often over-looked and underestimated by the American public. Responsible for awarding two-thirds of all bachelor’s degrees and approximately three-quarters of all doctoral degrees, as well as 70% of the nation’s engineering and technical degrees, the economic impact made by public institutions is truly remarkable. Every sector of American life, from health care to the arts, has been positively impacted by efforts of these state universities and land-grant institutions, through a combination of instruction, research, and service. The same institutions that are responsible for making a positive impact, however, are often perceived by the American public as “aloof and out of touch, arrogant and out of date” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 20). Though these perceptions may be due to a lack of knowledge by the public about the structure, purpose, function, and

finances of colleges and universities, “perceptions quickly define reality,” and these perceptions, accurate or not, must be understood and addressed by the system of higher education across the U.S (p. 20).

Colleges and universities must balance a wide variety of pressures surrounding enrollment, finances and student funding, accountability and productivity, and a continued emphasis on data and research that is urgently needed to find solutions to various national and international problems (Kellogg Commission, 1999). In the midst of these pressures, public institutions also have to recognize and respond to the changing shape and nature of higher education in an era of rapid technological advances. Enrollment in public education beyond high school has “grown enormously. Since the 1960s, the number of four-year public institutions increased dramatically and enrollment mushroomed” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 21). Two-year community colleges have emerged since 1965, representing “new ventures in the outreach business” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 21).

Funding of institutions of higher education has also undergone dramatic change as student aid has replaced institutional support. Undeniably, “however we measure state financial support it has declined practically everywhere in recent decades” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 23). Private, profit-making educational institutions have also emerged and continue to grow as technological advances create new means through which outreach can be conducted and knowledge acquired. As state funding per student has decreased, college costs have been on the rise. Constituents served by the university and college system throughout the United States have also changed dramatically as minorities, women, and older students populate campuses in larger numbers than ever

before (Kellogg Commission, 1999). Given these changes and the growing globalization of our world, colleges and universities must develop ways to respond and to continue to make positive contributions to our local, national, and international economies. Those institutions best equipped to juggle the many responsibilities and the numerous changes facing post-secondary education are recognized as “engaged institutions” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 25).

Characteristics of an Engaged Institution

The Kellogg Commission (1999), wrote openly to presidents and chancellors of its member institutions about the growing need to “organize our institutions to serve both local and national needs in a more coherent and effective way” (p. 3). Utilizing the experiences of 11 member institutions, exploratory portraits of engagement activities led the Kellogg Commission (1999) to emphasize seven characteristics that contribute to the success of university-community engagement efforts. These seven characteristics are described as (a) Responsiveness, which refers to how university-community interaction is taking place, what questions are being asked, and how universities are responding to information they receive from the communities, regions, and state they serve. (b) Respect for Partners, which brings together universities and communities that must work together to create an engaged atmosphere, and all stakeholders must be respected as learning takes place along the way. (c) Academic Neutrality, which refers to the reality of community problems and public policy that can involve contentious social, economic, and political issues. Ideally, the university should serve as a neutral facilitator and source of information for outreach efforts. (d) Accessibility, which suggests the university system can be confusing to outsiders. Resources, programs, and expertise should be equally

accessible to all constituents within the community and across the state, particularly minority and underrepresented constituents. (e) Integrating Engagement into Institutional Mission, which suggests the service mission of a university should be integrated with the responsibility of developing intellectual capital and trained intelligence. Interdisciplinary work is likely the key to successful integration efforts, and students and faculty members should be encouraged to participate in the facilitation of these efforts. (f) Successful Coordination of Outreach and Service Efforts, ensuring that all stakeholders are aware of community engagement efforts and the impact of such efforts. (g) Resource Adequacy, which can diminish the costs associated with engagement efforts since such efforts are not free, and funding must come from somewhere. The most successful university engagement efforts are characterized by the development of healthy relationships and have garnered support from partners in government, business, and the non-profit world (Kellogg Commission, 1999).

The Kellogg Commission (1999) refers to engagement as “redesigned teaching, research, and extension and service functions that are sympathetically and productively involved with the communities universities serve, however community is defined” (p. 27). Often, service efforts can be interpreted as one bestowing something on another unit, instead of engaging in an ongoing interaction or partnership. Engagement on the other hand refers to a partnership and focuses upon the “commitment to sharing and reciprocity” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 27). Weerts and Sandmann (2008) draw upon research by the Kellogg Commission and Carnegie Foundation and further describe engagement as a “collaborative model in which community partners play a significant role in creating and sharing knowledge to the mutual benefit of institutions and society”

(p. 74). Though a movement towards engagement makes sense for universities and colleges on a number of levels, collaboration and partnering can prove complicated for a multitude of reasons, as highlighted in the description of the seven characteristics of engaged institutions previously (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008).

Navigating the Rules of Engagement

Beyond the seven characteristics of successfully engaged institutions identified by the Kellogg Commission (1999), other researchers have made ambitious efforts to identify successful rules of engagement, particularly at research universities due to the complex nature of these larger systems (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, 2010). Through their research, Weerts and Sandmann (2008) identified several key themes that played a role in successful university-community engagement efforts, including (a) attention to language, (b) leadership behaviors, (c) organizational structures, and (d) the development of boundary spanners. Though these themes are important, the history, mission, and context of each institution also “influence challenges and opportunities for adopting engagement” (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, p. 86). As research universities lag behind their peers in adopting engagement as fundamental to their institutional missions, focusing upon language, leadership, organizational structures, and the development and role of boundary spanners may prove useful to universities wishing to become engaged centers of teaching, learning, and research (Kellogg Commission, 1999; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008; Weerts & Sandmann, 2010).

The language used by leaders of colleges and universities, as well as campus documents that describe interactions with the public are critical to stakeholders invested in understanding the level of engagement a university or college practices (Weerts &

Sandmann, 2008). In their study of different types of public universities and land-grant colleges making the transition to become more actively engaged with their communities, Weerts and Sandmann encountered both an absence and deliberate use of a language of engagement that varied by the type of university or institution. Recent studies of university-community engagement efforts suggest research universities lag behind other types of institutions in engaging with their communities (Weerts & Sandmann, 2010). Instead, in this particular study of the engagement efforts of different types of colleges and universities, Weerts and Sandmann (2008) found “urban research institutions in our sample more easily adopted the language and understanding of a two-way approach to engagement” (p.88). Urban institutions in the study also made direct connections in the cities in which they were located, capitalizing upon “their metropolitan location to become a multi-directional or two-way learning laboratory and have positioned their university as their city’s intellectual resource” (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, p. 88). As previously indicated, an institution’s history and mission are important factors to consider as institutions make the transition to include the language of engagement as a central component of its mission (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008).

Leadership has emerged as common theme throughout this dissertation and the Kellogg Commission (1999) also highlighted the vital role that college and university leaders play in creating an engaging campus culture. In their study, Weerts and Sandmann (2008) recognized the role of leadership in stimulating successful university-community engagement efforts. As they describe it, leadership was important for two reasons: (a) communicating the value of engagement both internally and externally, and (b) aligning administrative structures and resources to promote engagement. The role of

Presidents and Chancellors at each of the institutions is the focus of much of the study conducted by Weerts and Sandmann (2008), but the role of faculty members serving as leaders of engagement efforts also surfaces. Their discussion stems from the apparent underutilization of faculty members in university engagement efforts primarily because community service is not recognized in the tenure and promotion process to which these faculty members are subjected. Teaching and research do factor greatly into the tenure and promotion process and thus, faculty members may sacrifice service and engagement opportunities to focus on teaching and research efforts which have been deemed more important, and certainly vital, to the longevity of their personal careers (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008).

Engagement efforts at the universities and institutions included in the study by Weerts and Sandmann (2008) were driven by the efforts of academic and professional staff, referred to as “boundary spanners” (p. 93). In their study, successful and unsuccessful boundary spanners were identified, as were behaviors that contributed to the success of these individuals in leading community-engagement efforts. Successful boundary spanners exhibited (a) superb listening skills, (b) embodied a service ethic, (c) competently managed power, and (d) exemplified neutrality in their work (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008). Community partners quickly recognized boundary spanners who were invested in the partnership; “listening was a signal of respect to partners” (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, p. 93).

Successful partnerships between communities and universities were led by boundary spanners who exhibited an ethic of care in their work, and recognized the role power played in leading such efforts. Community partners often believed power should

be distributed equitably but still relied upon the university to provide knowledge and alternatives from which community partners could choose. Thus though power was seemingly distributed equitably, it was not distributed equally. Maintaining neutrality when considering the political nature of the issues that are often the focus of engagement efforts is yet another challenge recognized by universities and community partners. As university students and faculty members often conduct research to find solutions to community problems, neutrality can be hard to maintain. In essence, true engagement efforts should be built upon “an interactive process in which stakeholders collectively solve problems” (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, p. 95). The views of community agencies and members should be considered even if research findings suggest clear solutions. University-community engagement efforts should work to bridge gaps in theory and practice.

University-community engagement efforts seem to work best when both partners reap benefits from the investment. Universities are likely to engage with their surrounding communities when such efforts “contribute to their brand and [enhance] the physical surroundings of the campus” (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, p. 95). On the flip side, engagement efforts positively impact communities and partner organizations that are often beneficiaries of the services provided by universities, students, and faculty members. However, Bruning, McGrew, and Cooper (2006) assessed the attitudes of community members toward a university located in a small, Kentucky town and found engagement efforts can be straightforward and simple and still make an impact. One strategy that can be easily enacted by universities to positively impact community members and their perceptions of the university is to invite members of the community to

actively participate in campus activities and utilize institutional resources (Bruning et al., 2006). As community members are encouraged to get involved on campus, perceptions of town-gown relationships appear to benefit greatly (Bruning et al., 2006).

Campus Compact

Beyond the specific strategies outlined by the Kellogg Foundation (1999), Weerts and Sandmann (2008, 2010), and Bruning et al. (2006), national resources that highlight university-community engagement efforts are in existence and have been embraced by colleges and universities across the country. Prior research on university-community engagement efforts highlighted the role of Campus Compact in helping colleges and universities successfully adopt and maintain engagement efforts (Carnegie Foundation, 2006; Kellogg Commission, 1999; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, 2010). The Campus Compact Website is comprehensive in nature. Under the “Initiatives” link, a description of the work associated with Campus Compact is described and shared:

Campus Compact’s initiatives help campuses deepen their engaged work by providing replicable models, training, advocacy, and resources designed to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of service, service-learning, and civic engagement programs. Included here are successful engagement practices, awards to recognize exceptional work, professional development and training, on-site consultation opportunities, policy initiatives, and more. (Campus Compact, n.d.a)

To achieve the goal of helping campuses deepen their commitment to implement community engagement efforts, Campus Compact collects and disseminates information to institutions of higher education, with the goal of expanding engagement efforts on college and university campuses and communities throughout the US. Currently, links to 15 initiatives are included on their extensive Webpage. The Research University Civic Engagement Network (TRUCEN) is relevant to the discussion in this chapter and to UCB

in particular, given its role as a research university working to become engaged with its surrounding community. As discussed previously, prior research acknowledges the challenges facing research universities to engage with their surrounding communities (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008). As described on the Campus Compact Webpage, “TRUCEN works to advance civic engagement and engaged scholarship among research universities and to create resources and models for use across higher education” (Campus Compact, n.d.d).

Campus Compact was founded in 1985 by the presidents of Brown, Georgetown, Stanford, and the Education Commission of the States, in response to negative images of college students as materialistic and self-absorbed as promoted by media outlets. These university presidents knew students on their campuses were involved in community service activities and they believed with proper support and encouragement, other students would get involved, too. Today, with a national office based in Boston, Massachusetts, almost 1,200 colleges and universities across the country are included in the Campus Compact Coalition. Colorado is one among 34 state affiliates included in the efforts to expand engagement projects led by colleges and universities. Of the colleges and universities involved with Campus Compact, “98% of member campuses have one or more community partnerships, and more than 90% include service or civic engagement in their mission statements” (Campus Compact, n.d.c).

As a state affiliate, Colorado Campus Compact (CCC) has developed its own Website (www.cccompact.org) to help member colleges and universities make service learning work on their campuses. Beginning with four member institutions, 21 colleges and universities representing all facets of higher education in Colorado are members

today, including the University of Colorado Boulder. Focused solely on promoting engagement efforts, CCC “creates a forum for conversations among leadership of community college, private, and four-year public institutions focused on the public good of higher education” (Campus Compact, n.d.b). Campus Compact conducts yearly member surveys to track student and faculty participation in service and service-learning opportunities. Results for individual states were compared to national statistics. Of the 21 member institutions in Colorado, 16 responded to the survey questions for the 2010-2011 school year.

The Campus Compact summary results for Colorado highlight many positive aspects of community engagement efforts across its member institutions (Colorado Campus Compact, 2011). In Colorado, 38% of college and university students were reportedly involved in community service, civic engagement, and service-learning activities, which narrowly exceeds the national average of 37%. Students across Colorado campuses reported participating in an average of 5.39 service hours per week, surpassing the national average of 3.62. As estimated by the Independent Sector in 2010, the value of volunteer time was calculated at \$21.36/hour (Colorado Campus Compact, 2011). Based on these estimates, Colorado students contributed \$313,335,940 to local community organizations (Colorado Campus Compact, 2011).

Colorado campuses reported the existence of 50 service-learning courses at colleges and universities across the state. Service-learning in Colorado appears to be emerging, as the number of courses offered currently lags behind the national average of 69. Approximately 5% of faculty members on higher education campuses across the state report teaching a service-learning course, on par with the national average of faculty

participation of 6%. Colorado also exceeded the national average of community partnerships per campus, reporting 172 existing partnerships. The majority of these reported partnerships took place between the member institutions and K-12 schools, government agencies, and non-profit/community-based organizations. Similar to other Campus Compact members, Colorado colleges and universities reported that mechanisms to systematically assess the perceptions of community members concerning the institution's engagement with the community, and to assess community impact, are not widely used. Engagement efforts across Colorado universities and communities seem successful as measured by Campus Compact, but efforts taking place at member colleges and universities across Colorado are not specifically documented.

Community Engagement at UCB

The Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement (ODECE) at UCB has taken on the role of fostering community engagement efforts. A separate tab on the ODECE Website, "Community Engagement," describes current university-community events that are geared toward bringing students and the surrounding community in Boulder together. At the current time, two community events are described on the Website: (a) Monthly Community Dinners and (b) MLK Celebration. Monthly community dinners are hosted at the Family Learning Center in Boulder, "in an effort to build bridges and develop relationships among CU-Boulder students, faculty and community members" (ODECE, n.d., Engagement). Dinner and entertainment are provided to those who choose to participate, and transportation to the dinners is available for students. The City of Boulder and the University of Colorado Boulder join the rest of the state of Colorado in celebrating the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, which includes

an annual “Passing of the Torch” ceremony: “the torch is symbolic of being one people and connecting all Coloradoans with the vision of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.” (ODECE, n.d., Engagement).

Though not listed under the Community Engagement tab on the ODECE Webpage, the University also hosts an annual Diversity and Inclusion Summit. The 2012 summit took place on the campus from November 13th through November 15th, beginning at 8 a.m., in the University Memorial Center. The summit is described in detail on the UCB Events Calendar Webpage as follows:

The Diversity and Inclusion Summit brings the most current and up-to-date best practices around matters of diversity, inclusion, equity and social justice. As a public forum, the summit provides content to inspire new members of the campus community and to sustain veteran campus members toward a greater pluralistic campus, introduce everyday skills and practices for fostering an inclusive campus and work environment, and advance the skill set of long-term practitioners of diversity, inclusion and social justice. (ODECE, n.d, Events Calendar)

Alphonse Keasley, Assistant Vice Chancellor of Diversity, is listed as the contact for the summit, and the summit is also supported by the Boulder Faculty Assembly Diversity Committee. Currently, seventeen members serve on the Diversity Committee. As described on the committee Webpage, these members (a) record minutes from their meetings; (b) publish a Diversity Summit schedule; (c) recognize the Regents’ Non-Discrimination Policy and the CU Boulder Discrimination and Harassment Policy and Procedures; (d) operate under the administration of ODECE and the Committee on Women (CCW); (e) analyze data collected on the most recent Social Climate survey in fall 2010; and, (f) oversee the Dennis Small Cultural Center located in the University Memorial Center (UMC). Links to many of these program specific Websites are provided directly from the ODECE Webpage (UCB Website, n.d., Committees).

Following the link under “Community” from the Diversity Committee Webpage takes one directly to the Webpage for the Dennis Small Cultural Center (DSCC), which exists “to serve underrepresented student groups on the CU-Boulder campus by providing programmatic support and a safe space for cultural expression and community gatherings” (UCB Website, n.d., UMC Dennis Small). Events advertised by the DSCC include film screenings, dance lessons, cooking classes, workshops, and community gatherings. Interested participants, described as students, faculty, and community members, are invited to join the DSCC weekly email lists to receive announcements about these events. The Dennis Small Cultural Center also advertises their lending library, which consists of “a small collection of multicultural literature that is available for CU students, faculty, and staff to borrow” (UCB Website, n.d., UMC Dennis Small Programs).

Flagship 2030 and Community Engagement

Flagship 2030 focuses upon creating a new model of undergraduate education to better prepare UCB students to make contributions to an ever changing world. In 2009, the Faculty Task Force made two recommendations with apparent links to community engagement. The first recommendation calls for, “engaged scholarship” which “links theory with practice and research with action and is an important faculty contribution to the world in which we live” (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 1). The second recommendation emphasizes, “diverse educational environments and experiential learning [opportunities that] provide important contexts to integrate and improve research, creative work and education” to enhance undergraduate education and community engagement efforts (p. 1). The Chancellor’s review of these

recommendations outlines the University's plan to hire an additional 300 tenure-track faculty members over the next ten years. Accordingly, UCB will focus upon hiring faculty members to "support core disciplines, interdisciplinary studies and areas of distinction, including research and scholarship in fields of national needs and opportunities" (p. 2). An emphasis will also be placed on improving diversity and increasing the quantity of graduate students and the quality of graduate programs.

The Undergraduate Education Task Force also made recommendations to propel UCB forward as an engaged university. Recognizing the positive impact of faculty-student interactions on student success uncovered in past research (see Chapter V), the Task Force discussed the need to rethink undergraduate education in its entirety, including "instructional modes and many new earned degree pathways" (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 3). Deans of each school and college were asked to develop a strategy within each of their units to ensure that "student research, student internships, and study abroad can be counted for degree requirements more broadly and more flexibly within the varied requirements of each school and college" (p.3). In the Chancellor's review of these recommendations, a plan to "make experiential education a required component of the undergraduate curriculum" is identified (p. 3). Beyond requiring experiential learning opportunities for all students, the Chancellor identified leadership development opportunities and creating a mechanism to ensure every student on campus is involved in at least one extracurricular activity as priorities.

Promoting excellence in research and creative work is another initiative outlined in the Flagship 2030 summary. The Chancellor acknowledges the need to dedicate additional resources to promote excellence in research and to overhaul the current

administrative structure governing research endeavors. As outlined by Flagship 2030, research excellence can be achieved by (a) increasing the number and quality of graduate students and programs, (b) providing opportunities for undergraduates to participate in research endeavors, (c) increasing funds for research, (d) obtaining sponsors to conduct research, and (e) developing solid partnerships across the State of Colorado (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009). Enhancing graduate student education, funding, and housing options are also related to enhancing the university's research endeavors. The Graduate Education Task Force outlined several recommendations to increase graduate enrollment by 5%, to a total enrollment of 20% by 2030 (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009).

Building community partnerships surfaced in the Chancellor's action plan under Core Initiative 7: Learning for a Diverse World included in Flagship 2030. Recognizing the power of community engagement in transforming both living and learning environments, the Chancellor proposed several specific actions UCB can take to "promote the early development and scholastic achievement [of students] from first generation and economically disadvantaged homes" (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 14). As identified in research concerning university-community engagement efforts (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, 2010), focusing upon the needs of underrepresented members from surrounding communities, and providing them with educational access and opportunities are crucial to the university and world at large. Partnerships between UCB and several community-based and school agencies were identified to provide a platform from which efforts to include a more diverse community in University efforts could be launched and include: (a) Boulder County "I Have a Dream" program, (b) Aurora Public Schools, (c) Serving Schools in Greater Colorado, (d) School of Education

Bueno Center, (e) Equity Assistance Project, and (f) the NSF Indigenous Alliance.

Collaboration across offices and departments within the university itself were identified as an area of need to enhance and focus efforts to better address the needs of all constituents and to enhance the diversity of the student body.

The Flagship 2030 Task Force further outlines recommendations “to develop a coordinated, coherent, deliberate campus strategy for outreach and engagement” under Core Initiative 8: Serving Colorado, the Community, and Our Graduates (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 15). This Task Force acknowledged the role of faculty members in helping to create an engaged campus by recognizing a need to “develop evaluation, recognition, and reward systems for faculty outreach” (p. 16). The last specific action step outlined by this Task Force highlighted the need to “bridge the development of programs between the University, alumni, business and the community by having the Division of Continuing Education and Professional Studies” (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 17). The Chancellor fully supports the specific actions outlined by the Task Force and agreed to “designate an office or administrative structure to better coordinate outreach and engagement activities” (p. 17). The Chancellor also recognized the need for budgetary support to successfully expand community partnerships. Communication was identified as an area that needs to be improved to relay the mission of the university more clearly, improve the visibility of the campus, and promote an understanding of UCB’s role as the flagship university across the state of Colorado (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009). As outlined in Flagship 2030, the steps to increase diversity of all kinds at UCB, and to be recognized and known as an “engaged

institution” appear to be clearly delineated. Success toward achieving these goals needs to be quantified and measured over the next decade.

CHAPTER VIII

MAKING THE CASE FOR DIVERSITY AND IMPLEMENTING AN ACTION PLAN

Issues surrounding race continue to be complex and intriguing in education today, more than fifty years after the Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Parker, 1998). Several contemporary scholars (Ladson-Billings, Parker, DeCuir & Dixson, 2004) suggest that schools are being re-segregated with minority students becoming more isolated from the majority White population. High school graduation rates for minority groups, particularly African-American and Hispanic students, continue to lag behind the graduation rates of their White and Asian peers (Lee, 2002). Racial differences can also be found in test scores, college application and acceptance rates, percentages of students taking remedial classes in college, and college graduation rates (Perna, 2000). The reality of the racial discrepancies that exist in the world of education has a tremendous effect on society as a whole, though the impact of racism in our society today is generally ignored. Ladson-Billings (1998) suggests “racism is normal in American society” (p. 7) and because of its normality, it is relatively easy to overlook.

As described in detail in Chapter II, in 2003 the Supreme Court of the United States decided two affirmative action cases filed against the University of Michigan undergraduate program and the school of law. The lawsuits were filed on behalf of White plaintiffs as a result of what they claimed to be unfair higher education admission decisions. The plaintiffs in the case argued that the use of affirmative action was unconstitutional and served as a form of “reverse discrimination” (Gurin et al., 2004).

The decision rendered by the court supported affirmative action programs, suggesting they were acceptable because such programs aimed to increase the educational experiences of all students by promoting and embracing a diverse student body. The court stated, “Diversity is a compelling interest” (Gurin et al., 2004, p. 2).

As discussions of the 2003 Supreme Court decision about the use of affirmative action have subsided, discussions about diversity programming on college campuses has seemingly increased. Diversity programs on college campuses are created in order to embrace and enhance the experiences of minority and majority students, reducing the “natural” segregation of students different from one another on college campuses (Muthuswamy, Levine, & Gazel, 2006). One reason for the shift in focus to diversity programs may be as a result of legislation passed in individual states like California and Washington declaring affirmative action practices as unlawful. As discussed previously, Proposition 209 in California ended the use of affirmative action in all government agencies and higher education institutions, and similar legislation has impacted institutions of higher education across the country.

Though affirmative action practices and diversity programs arguably cater to serve different interests, both embrace the value of diverse education environments. Several studies have been conducted on college campuses to examine the impact of diversity on campus climate, student achievement, and the development of good citizens. Gurin et al. (2004) investigated the role of diversity on students’ experiences of college and highlighted the importance of maintaining and creating diversity programs to increase the number of minority students in colleges, and to foster the social and academic growth of all students. Muthuswamy et al. (2006) evaluated a diversity

program, MRULE, on the campus of a Midwestern university. Their findings supported the importance of diversity programming, revealing that participants in the program developed more positive attitudes about racial differences, interacted more frequently with individuals of different races, and were more aware of racial issues affecting various minority groups. Among others, these studies provide evidence supporting the importance of diversity initiatives and programs on the campuses of higher education institutions.

Diversity programs on college campuses now play a vital role in supporting decisions made by the courts in regard to the use of affirmative action to create a more interesting and interactive campus atmosphere in institutions of higher education. As Gurin et al. (2004) suggest, “It is important to explain how higher education might expose students to racial and ethnic diversity, since they may experience it in several ways” (p. 2). The ways in which students experience diversity includes the structural diversity to which students are exposed, informal interactional diversity, and classroom diversity. Gurin et al. (2004) believe that informal interactional diversity and classroom diversity have the potential to greatly impact learning outcomes and campus climate. In and of itself, structural diversity, simply admitting minority groups in larger numbers, does not automatically enhance the college experience of majority students: “Simply attending an ethnically diverse college does not guarantee that students will have meaningful intergroup relations” (Gurin et al., 2004, p. 3). Accordingly, frequent and quality intergroup interaction is essential for students to have meaningful diversity experiences during college.

Making Campus Diversity Initiatives Work

In defense of affirmative action practices and policies, leaders at the University of Michigan found themselves on center stage, not only in defending diversity but working to expand their successful diversity efforts to college campuses across the country. Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) “have been involved in a comprehensive, longitudinal campus research and assessment project that examines the impact of diversity on students” (p. 41). Prior research on campus climate suggests the importance of formal diversity programs working to bring students together (Cress, 2008; Cureton, 2003; Cabrera et al., 1999). Because of the controversy surrounding issues of race and affirmative action, Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) recognize the obstacles facing leaders at colleges and universities across the United States. After 20 years of experience working toward achieving strong campus diversity initiatives, they have compiled their observations and recommendations into a list to help campus leaders “understand the dynamics of campus diversity” (p. 41).

Research concerning campus climate provides insight into the role of transformational leaders, leaders who are committed to the cause of diversity and willing to take action to make positive changes (Cartner, Love, & Trammell, 2010). Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) also recognize the pivotal role campus leaders play in promoting campus diversity initiatives, even though many diversity efforts are likely taking place on campuses throughout the country without the knowledge or guidance of a campus administrator. To be a truly successful leader of diversity initiatives, “the campus community needs to know that diversity is the priority of the president or chancellor, the executive officers, and the governing board” (p. 42). Furthermore, campus leaders should

focus upon increasing the number of students of color, as well as increasing the number of faculty and staff of color. As campus climate research highlights the mitigating effect of student-faculty relationships upon college persistence (Cress, 2008), leaders should actively recruit and retain quality faculty and staff members to enhance the development of positive relationships with students with the long-term goal of helping all students succeed, and ultimately transforming the campus climate.

To be successful, “strategic diversity programs and implementation must touch the entire campus” (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007, p. 42). Campuses across the US seem to struggle with achieving desired levels of campus diversity and are more open to incorporating all levels of the college or university in such efforts (p. 42). Beyond ensuring diversity plans include all levels of the campus and community, such plans need not be reinvented year after year. Instead, Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) reinforce the importance of implementing the action parts of these plans and determining the shortcomings and successes along the way.

If diversity is a priority on a campus, “it is important that campus diversity efforts be viewed as essential to the institution’s overall mission” (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007, p. 44). Efforts made at The University of Michigan have proven exemplary as campus leaders have worked to link the institutional mission focused upon diversity, as stated in its original diversity plan of 1988, to all other aspects of the university including research, instruction and service. Diversity at Michigan is an institutional goal woven into every part of the university. To be certain, diversity there has proven to be more than just a focus on increasing access and the presence of minority students on campus. Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) emphasize the importance of focusing upon the retention and

graduation rates of students of color rather than just the number of underrepresented students enrolling each school year. Successful campus diversity plans should address issues concerning access, persistence, retention, graduation rates, and satisfaction with the campus experience.

Prior research highlights the complexity of interracial student relationships on college campuses (Cabrera et al., 1999; Cress, 2008; Cureton, 2003; Love et al., 2010) leaders need to understand this complexity and create opportunities for students to work through diversity issues using a variety of means (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). Over the past two decades diversity itself has become more difficult to narrowly define as the term in the present day encompasses and describes many groups of individuals and is not limited to racial/ethnic differences (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). Wade-Golden and Matlock highlight a need to remain focused upon “addressing the paramount diversity issues involving equity”, as “the racial aspects of this dilemma still remain unresolved and contentious” (p. 46). Beyond providing essential learning opportunities centered upon race and diversity, campus leaders must be proactive and respond immediately, when needed, to any negative racial incidents involving any members of the campus and surrounding community to promote and maintain a positive campus climate, and “this message must be clear and consistent” (p. 45).

Successful campus diversity initiatives make a difference in the lives of all students and these positive results must be collected, quantitatively and qualitatively, and shared with all stakeholders participating in higher education discussions (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). Wade-Golden and Matlock recognize the importance of collecting data because this data proved vital to the Michigan case before the Supreme Court in

2003. If data are collected, the success of diversity initiatives may justify the focus of such efforts and may pacify a skeptical public (p. 46). Quantitative data is important, but understanding “attitudes and behaviors. . . permit a broader and more balanced analysis” (p. 46). Diversity plans, successes, and stereotypes should be addressed, as well. Communication with all stakeholders proves crucial, particularly when diversity efforts are viewed negatively (p. 47).

To ensure their success, campus leaders must garner support for diversity initiatives from stakeholders (Williams, 2006; Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). The University of Michigan garnered support from hundreds of corporations, the military, and unions who recognized the ever-important role diversity plays in a growing global economy. These supporters of the university diversity initiatives readily recognized, “diversity is not only the key to a quality education, but also critical to the current and future economic vitality and security of our nation” (p. 47). Making diversity work on college campuses is a precursor for the successful future of our nation and of our world. As discussed in Chapter VII, community engagement efforts can work to enhance a university’s diversity efforts.

Diversity Leaders at UCB

The Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement (ODECE) “leads CU-Boulder's diversity efforts. The office fosters our vision for a diverse campus climate and works with students, faculty, and staff to implement the campus diversity plan” (ODECE, n.d.). Created in March of 1998, Disability Services and Pre-College Outreach Programs fall under the division of ODECE, as well. The creation of the ODECE office spurred on the development of a *Blueprint for Action*, UCB’s diversity plan first

published in 1999. Diversity at UCB is defined as a “community [that] includes individuals from a range of ethnic, regional, cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds—as well as first-generation students, persons with disabilities, students who are parents, people of different sexual and gender orientations, people of different ages and political viewpoints, and many others” (ODECE, n.d.). The ODECE Website outlines areas upon which the office focuses including: campus climate, community engagement, resources, student success, faculty and staff success, and diversity events taking place on campus. Currently, ODECE operates under the leadership of Robert Boswell, serving as Vice Chancellor, and Alphonse Keasely, serving as Assistant Vice Chancellor. The Director of Student Success is David Aragon, Chris Pacheco is Director of Pre-College programs, and Cindy Donahue serves as Director of Disability Services (ODECE, n.d.). Under the leadership of the aforementioned individuals, the vision of ODECE is clearly outlined on the Website:

At CU-Boulder, diversity is defined broadly to ensure the inclusion of a wide variety of human experiences and identities. The university recognizes and celebrates a diverse campus community to include people from many backgrounds—ethnic, regional and national origins, cultural heritage, intellectual, economic, religious, international—as well as first-generation students, people with disabilities, students who are parents, people of different sexual and gender orientations, people of different ages, and many other diverse characteristics. The University of Colorado Boulder will develop, implement, and assess university strategies to improve the diversity of faculty, students, and staff as well as to foster a supportive, more inclusive community for all. We envision a campus (1) that addresses the special needs of groups and individuals who historically have faced institutional barriers, (2) where the quality of education is enhanced and enriched by a diverse campus community, and (3) where the entire campus benefits from participation in a multicultural community. By 2030 we aim to make CU-Boulder a model for the nation in applying best practices in support of diversity and inclusive excellence. (ODECE, n.d.)

The vision of ODECE is supported by the mission statement, also found on their Website:

The mission of ODECE is to enhance, expand, and ensure inclusive excellence through the practice of diversity. ODECE works with faculty, staff, students, and alumni to initiate and enhance opportunities to achieve understanding and excellence through diversity, thereby promoting faculty and student success, enhancing campus climate, and strengthening community engagement. (ODECE, n.d.)

Proof of the work being done to promote diversity at UCB is readily available to interested stakeholders directly on the ODECE Webpage, including diversity reports, reports to the regents, diversity statistics, status of women reports, and a disability services report.

UCB Diversity Plans

UCB's diversity plan, *A Blueprint for Action*, was first developed and adopted in 1999 under the leadership of Chancellor Richard Byyny and the Boulder Campus Diversity Planning Committee (BCDPC). In 1998, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education mandated that all public universities throughout the state of Colorado create campus diversity plans, and in response to this mandate the BCDPC was formed and included members nominated by Vice Chancellors, Deans, the University of Colorado Student Union's Legislative Council, and students at the university (University of Colorado Boulder, 1999). The Boulder Campus Diversity and Equity Plan was first presented and approved by the Board of Regents in 1998, though an alternative plan developed by UCB students called "Bolder Boulder" was also discussed at length. Ultimately, data and input from across the campus, including governance, student, faculty, and staff groups were considered and incorporated by the university into the adopted diversity plan, *A Blueprint for Action* (University of Colorado Boulder, 1999).

The Office of Planning, Budget, and Analysis (PBA) at UCB stores all of the diversity and associated reports on their Website, and links from the ODECE Website can be used to navigate to these reports. On the PBA Annual Progress Report on Campus Diversity Plan Website, the three primary goals identified in A Blueprint for Action from 1999 are re-stated: (a) To build and maintain an inclusive campus environment; (b) To recruit, support, retain, and graduate a diverse student population; and, (c) To maintain and enhance diversity in employment of staff, faculty, and administrators (University of Colorado Boulder PBA, n.d.). Appendix C outlines the three goals and the key strategies identified by the University of Colorado Boulder that the university chose to employ to work towards the realization of the goals as identified in A Blueprint for Action (University of Colorado Boulder, 1999). Because the focus of this study is the history of diverse student access to the University, the first two goals stated in A Blueprint for Action associated with campus environment and student access seem the most relevant to provide insight and potential answers to the question regarding how UCB has worked to create an atmosphere to attract diverse students to the campus since 1999. The third goal identified in the Blueprint concerning diverse faculty and staff, though vital to a larger discussion about creating an amicable and accepting campus climate, falls outside of the scope of this study.

As outlined in A Blueprint for Action, the goal associated with student access and opportunity states, “We are committed to ensuring equal access and opportunity for a quality education at the University of Colorado at Boulder among all Colorado students, including members of racial/ethnic groups traditionally underrepresented in higher education” (University of Colorado Boulder, 1999, p. 13). This overarching goal was

accompanied by four sub-goals, which included: (a) Demonstrate continued improvement in the number of students of color entering the university, and increasing the graduation rate of these students; (b) enhancing the retention rate of first-year students of color; (c) improving graduation rates of students of color while increasing the number of new students of color; and, (d) improve the number of BA degrees awarded to students of color (p. 13). Recognizing the relationship among these goals, several key strategies were developed to begin making progress, using data from 1998 as a baseline for improvement.

A Blueprint for Action also addressed issues associated with funding and resources supporting diversity goals, and identified clear objectives and performance expectations making a commitment “to [transform] the pattern of resource management for diversity” (University of Colorado Boulder, 1999, p. 24). Accordingly, “major diversity programs” already receiving significant funds, and Blueprint dedicated funds to continue these major programs and allocated additional funding resources for diversity related programs. Accountability was deemed necessary as the campus worked to achieve the diversity goals as outlined in Blueprint. Though everyone was expected to play a role in adopting and assuring the success of the diversity plan as outlined, campus leaders were deemed to be crucial in leading the way. The Office of Diversity and Equity, under the then interim leadership of Ofelia Miramontes, was appointed to provide leadership, coordinate, evaluate and support diversity efforts on campus (University of Colorado Boulder, 1999, p. 29).

Measurement tools to assess the university’s progress toward achieving diversity goals and welcoming a more diverse student body were identified in A Blueprint for

Action. Plans to analyze both short-term data (annual reviews) and longer-term data (five year reviews) were outlined, as well (UCB, 1999). As A Blueprint for Action was developed, the university had plans to use both internal and external benchmarks to measure progress toward achieving the goals outlined in the diversity plan. As clarified in the Blueprint, one example of an external benchmark would be the success of the diversity program implemented at UCB in comparison to the diversity efforts and success of other public Research I universities serving as UCB's peer group (UCB, 1999). After the introduction of the diversity plan, and in response to the mandate put into place by the CCHE requiring universities to report and monitor diversity data, UCB stated that they will "annually track and report student trends" in: (a) Applications and acceptances for admission; (b) Entering student enrollment; (c) Total enrollment; (d) Retention rates; (e) Graduation rates; and, (f) Degrees earned (UCB, 1999, p. 32). In particular, "trends in numbers and percentages for specific groups-including such groups as women students, students of color and students with disabilities- will be monitored and reported on an annual basis" (UCB, 1999, pp. 32-33). After its creation in 1999, A Blueprint for Action served as the basis for future diversity plans and was revisited in 2005 as President Hank Brown established a commission on diversity. services report.

The President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity (2006)

In 2005, after assuming the Presidency of the University of Colorado, Hank Brown created the Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity (2006) with the

intention... to launch a process through which our diversity programs are thoroughly reviewed by an external group. The immediate outcome of this analysis will be a set of recommendations for improving diversity, with a particular focus on student recruitment and the academic climate. The ultimate outcome will be important achievements in the recruitment and retention of students of color and other diverse students at CU, and in creating a welcoming

and enriching academic environment. (Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity, 2006)

The Blue Ribbon Commission consisted of 60 members and included community members, students, and tri-executives. The commission made ten recommendations for improving diversity on the Boulder campus which are outlined in Appendix D. Upon reviewing the literature concerning the struggle students of color face when they are not well-represented and are clearly a minority, which has been and continues to be the case with African American and American Indian students at UCB in particular, one recommendation made by the Blue Ribbon Commission (2006) seemed both plausible and necessary: recruitment and enrollment goals should be set and shared with communities of color.

In 2006, a headline in the Denver Post speaks to the struggle the university continued to face regarding diversity on campus: “CU given D for diversity.” According to the article, a study conducted by the Education Trust in 2006 characterized students at the nation’s flagship universities as “whiter and richer, not coming close to representing the diversity in their states” (Brown, 2006). Earning a D average overall, UCB “got an F in the number of African American, Latino, and Native American students it enrolls relative to the number of high school seniors in the state”, as these students made up only 9.2% of Boulder freshmen during the 2006-2007 academic year. Earlier in the same academic year, Anas (2006) wrote an article for *The Daily Camera* about University of Colorado leaders rejecting a recommendation from the President’s diversity panel to “make admission standards more flexible to boost minority enrollment.”

The panel indicated that “it is unacceptable that 66 black freshmen enrolled on Boulder’s campus last fall. This fall there are 76 new black freshmen” (Anas, 2006).

Though CCHE requires public institutions of higher education throughout the state to use predetermined index scores to offer admission to students, each university and college is allowed to admit students not meeting the index utilizing an “admissions window” (Anas, 2006). In 2005-2006, the window was set at 16% and shrank to 10% in 2008-2009; however, “the Boulder campus got ahead of schedule and only admitted 9% of students through the window” (Anas, 2006). In response to the criticism, Chancellor Bud Peterson said, “instead of adjusting the index score, he wants to increase the applicant pool of minority students” (Anas, 2006). Although UCB has made recent gains increasing the presence of underrepresented students on campus, the number of African American and American Indian students continues to lag behind the enrollment numbers of Hispanic, Asian, and White students.

Recruiting Students of Color

In light of the negative headlines that can be found in *Daily Camera* and *Denver Post* articles, the Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity drew attention to more positive aspects of the university’s diversity gains in its update in December of 2006. According to the Blue Ribbon Commission Update (2006), UCB had great success in recruiting students of color to campus and welcoming the most diverse class in the university’s history in the fall of 2006, increasing diversity 20% from the fall of 2003. In an effort to continue this trend of recruiting and admitting more diverse students of color, the admissions office proactively initiated a variety of programs and activities to recruit students of color. For example, in late summer of 2006, UCB purchased names of qualified prospective students from ACT and College Board (SAT) in both in-state and out-of-state markets to broaden the pool of students of color who may eventually apply.

The Pre-Collegiate Development Program proved to be a successful platform from which underrepresented students were provided with the tools needed to navigate all parts of the application process. Twenty-three PCDP participants were granted admission to UCB in late July of 2006. In the summer of 2006, UCB joined the other University of Colorado campuses to provide information to prospective students and their parents through exposure to a college fair, college planning workshops, and presentations from each of the schools. The CU Upward Bound program targeted American Indian students, conducting a college fair and information sessions about scholarship programs at UCB. The Academic Excellence Program was also identified in the update, but a target audience and program goals were not identified in the report.

Beyond the programmatic efforts put into place to target, attract, recruit, admit, and welcome minority students to the campus, UCB also made efforts to reach a more diverse prospective student body through the CESDA (Colorado Educational Services and Development Association) directory and through recruitment mailings and Web-based communications. High school visits, special campus visits, special college fairs, Chancellor/Admissions/African American Community Meetings, special recruitment efforts by the UCB Engineering department, football tailgates, home visits, open houses, and CU Diversity Samplers are examples of the additional efforts made by the university to attract and recruit a diverse student body to the campus.

The Diversity Recruitment Website was also developed to further aid campus efforts to recruit students of color. The site contains specific information for students of color on academic programs, student resources, student life, visiting the campus, and financial aid. UCB also established and strengthened relationships with Front Range

Community College and Community College of Denver to aid in the recruitment of transfer students of color. The university also pursued new financial aid opportunities and resources to recruit and support students of color in their educational endeavors.

Faculty and Staff Development

Continuing into the fall of 2006, a variety of educational programs geared toward university faculty and staff, were conducted to support campus-wide diversity efforts. The Office of Diversity and Equity Website included a diversity training and education page and was continually updated with new educational programs. All faculty members were required to complete a mandatory workshop “to train faculty and raise their sensitivity to harassing and discriminatory behaviors of all types” (Blue Ribbon Commission Update, p. 5). Diversity planning templates were completed by Student Affairs directors, and diversity training and services for staff and students continued to increase in size and number.

Diversity Education and Training

Efforts to expand diversity training reached beyond the training of faculty and staff members, and focused upon the education of students, as well. Pilot sections of CU 101, called “The Contemporary University and the Student Citizen” were launched in the fall of 2006, with faculty teaching four sections in two residence halls. These efforts were to be evaluated and if deemed successful, would be expanded to include more first year students. The College of Arts and Sciences focused upon revising, reviewing, and expanding their courses focused upon cultural and gender diversity. A diversity training program for leaders of student organizations was proposed, and a variety of programs were offered by the Dialogue Network “to enhance intercultural communication and

understanding” (Blue Ribbon Commission Update, p. 7). In addition, a weekly listing of all diversity events and programs for students was sent out by the Office of Diversity and Equity.

The broader Boulder community was also drawn into conversations to promote diversity on and around the UCB campus. Senior campus leaders, the Boulder city manager and four staffers reviewed recommendations to enhance diversity and inclusion within the broader Boulder campus community. The recommendations the group explored putting into action included increasing cultural programming efforts, creating a City-Campus Diversity Council, increasing outreach efforts to low income Boulder residents, and reviewing the initiatives and services related to multicultural inclusion, engagement, and policy development throughout the city of Boulder.

Assessment of Current Programs

The LEAD Alliance Programs were being reviewed in a year-long process to determine its effectiveness and to compare its success with other LEAD program efforts. The community outreach efforts designed to recruit students of color to UCB were evaluated by The Pre-College Outreach Task Force and results were presented to Chancellor Peterson and senior level campus administrators. The Office of Equity and Diversity reviewed the programs and services offered at peer institutions to develop points of comparison into the future. Discussions surrounding the Office of Diversity and Equity took place regarding the budget, reporting structure, and level of leadership needed to ensure the success of the office.

Assessment of Campus Climate

To create a better campus climate for all individuals at UCB, a review of cross-

cultural interactions and the level of understanding between different groups was to be assessed to establish a base-line. A spring 2006 Faculty Campus Climate survey was conducted and results were distributed in the fall. The results of the Faculty Campus Climate survey were not discussed in this report. Lastly, the report ended with discussion about the creation of a Campus Diversity Advisory Board to convene in early spring.

Flagship 2030 Strategic Plan

As described in more detail in Chapter VII, the new Flagship 2030 Strategic Plan outlines eight core initiatives and ten Flagship initiatives upon which an action plan has been constructed. Through the implementation of these initiatives, the University of Colorado Boulder plans to redefine “learning and discovery in a global context and [set] new standards in education, research, scholarship, and creative work that will benefit Colorado and the world” (Flagship 2030). As outlined in the Flagship 2030 Strategic Plan and discussed in Chapter VII, two of the eight initiatives are more specifically focused than the others upon achieving a diverse and positive campus climate at UCB. Core Initiative 7: Learning for a Diverse World, and Core Initiative 8: Serving Colorado, the Community, and Our Graduates focus most readily upon the importance of diversity and providing access to underrepresented students into the future (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009).

To recapture the strategies to be implemented through 2030 to recruit, admit, retain and graduate a diverse community of scholars at UCB, the Chancellor proposed several specific actions UCB can take to “promote the early development and scholastic achievement [of students] from first generation and economically disadvantaged homes” (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 14). As identified in research concerning

university-community engagement efforts (Weerts & Sandmann, 2008, 2010), focusing upon the needs of underrepresented members from surrounding communities, and providing them with educational access and opportunities are crucial to the university and world at large. Partnerships between UCB and several community-based and school agencies were identified to provide a platform from which efforts to include a more diverse community in University efforts could be launched. Collaboration across offices and departments within the university itself were identified as an area of need to enhance and focus efforts to better address the needs of all constituents and to enhance the diversity of the student body.

The Flagship 2030 Task Force further outlines recommendations “to develop a coordinated, coherent, deliberate campus strategy for outreach and engagement” under Core Initiative 8: Serving Colorado, the Community, and Our Graduates (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 15). This Task Force acknowledged the role of faculty members in helping to create an engaged campus by recognizing a need to “develop evaluation, recognition, and reward systems for faculty outreach” (p. 16). The last specific action step outlined by this Task Force highlighted the need to “bridge the development of programs between the University, alumni, business and the community by having the Division of Continuing Education and Professional Studies” (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009, p. 17).

Communication was further identified as an area that needs to be improved to relay the mission of the university more clearly, improve the visibility of the campus, and promote an understanding of UCB’s role as the flagship university across the state of Colorado (University of Colorado Boulder, 2009). As outlined in Flagship 2030, the steps

to increase diversity of all kinds at UCB appear to be clearly delineated, yet the plan appears to lack commitment to accomplishing the goal of achieving a diverse and positive campus climate in that few new strategies for improving diversity are included in the action plan. As highlighted in 1999, 2006, and again with Flagship 2030, some successful diversity initiatives and programs already exist at UCB, and as Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) discussed, it is important to focus upon outcomes instead of just numbers of students when assessing the success of diversity efforts. The language included in Flagship 2030 seems focused upon outcomes for students. Perhaps by working through the existing diversity initiatives and programs, the goal to foster a supportive and inclusive climate at UCB will indeed be “for all.” Of course, success in the area of diversity is relatively easy to track and undoubtedly, UCB administrators are accountable to do so well into the future.

Diversity at UCB through the 2000s

As mandated by the CCHE in 1998, each public college and university in Colorado has been, and continues to be, responsible for reporting the progress of their established diversity goals each year as “Performance and progress towards the goals of the diversity plan are measured annually against the plan’s stated performance metrics” (UCB, n.d.a). The diversity information for UCB was last updated on their Website on February 27, 2010; therefore, the most recent statistical information available for comparison ranges from the years of 1999 to 2009. Table VIII.1 is copied from the university’s PBA Website to provide insight into the data that has been gathered and analyzed to determine how much progress has been made in terms of achieving the stated diversity goals. Though other data are collected, for the purpose of this dissertation,

student measures are the only data that will be included.

The changes documented by UCB of the student measures included Table VIII.1 are highlighted in the Annual Progress Report on Campus Diversity Plan, last updated in March, 2010. The report describes “steady long-term increases” on one important student measure: six-year graduation rates of Colorado freshmen students of color. Other steady increases have been outlined in other areas of the diversity plan. During the years between 1999-2009, data collected regarding Bachelor’s degrees awarded to Colorado students of color, new Colorado undergraduates of color, and graduate-level degrees awarded to students of color indicated a pattern of “mixed results”. Gains on Bachelor’s degrees awarded to students of color were steady overall, but declined in 2008-09 for the first time since 1995. Colorado undergraduate students of color were enrolling at steadily increasing rates through 2003, but enrollment rates throughout the 2000s were seen to level out. Graduate degrees awarded to students of color have followed an up-and-down pattern, demonstrating a small decline from 1995-2002, and increasing since.

As illustrated in Table VIII.1, minimal progress has been realized to increase the percentage of Colorado high school graduates of color enrolling as new freshmen during the past two decades. In fact, enrollment of students of color from 1995-1998 declined, gained steadily through 2003, and declined to new lows during the 2008-2009 school year. Actual numbers of students of color enrolling at UCB have remained steady since 2003, but since 2003 more students of color are graduating from Colorado high schools, causing the percentage to decline on this measure. Further, one-year retention rates of freshmen students of color have not improved, though they have held steady over the past ten years, ranging from 81-87%. The enrollment rate of graduate level students of color

has also not improved (UCB, n.d.a).

As Wade-Golden and Matlock (2007) suggested in their recommendations for establishing successful campus diversity programs, it is not necessary to re-create diversity plans each year but leaders should focus upon the shortcomings and successes of each diversity initiative and program. Seemingly, UCB has focused upon identifying shortcomings and successes as administrators and leaders continue to work toward achieving the original goals outlined in the *Blueprint for Action* (UCB, 1999). Since 1999, work to revamp and revise the original diversity plan has continued with the President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity meeting in 2006 and a new Flagship 2030 Strategic Plan adopted by University's Board of Regents in 2007. Additional information is provided about these initiatives and plans below.

Table VIII.1

Diversity at UCB, 1999-2009

	Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Student Measures												
2A	Bachelor's degrees granted to residents in the fiscal year (summer, fall, spring), without second majors											
	To residents of color	478	445	454	507	475	503	520	605	646	617	557
	To White residents	2,422	2,675	2,483	2,563	2,783	2,753	2,920	3,023	2,978	3,015	2,870
	Average entry year of degree recipients (for reference)	'94	'95	'96	'97	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04
	Res of color / res known race-ethnicity	16%	14%	15%	17%	15%	15%	15%	17%	18%	17%	16%
2A.1	New degree-seeking resident undergraduates (freshmen and transfers) in the calendar year (spring, summer, fall)											
	New resident undergrads of color	649	694	722	796	875	851	797	864	867	836	847
	New White resident undergrads	3,358	3,305	3,195	3,509	3,681	3,477	3,410	3,608	3,670	3,364	3,531
	Res of color / res known race-ethnicity	16%	17%	18%	18%	19%	20%	19%	19%	19%	20%	19%
2A.1a	CU-Boulder share of Colorado HS graduates of color -- percentage of HS graduates of color enrolling at CU-Boulder											
	Resident freshmen, of HS grads that year	5.8%	6.1%	6.3%	6.6%	6.1%	5.4%	5.2%	5.6%	5.2%	5.0%	4.6%
	Resident transfers, of average of prior two years	3.2%	3.0%	3.0%	2.9%	3.8%	3.1%	2.5%	2.3%	2.4%	2.0%	2.0%
	Total	8.2%	8.4%	8.5%	8.9%	9.0%	7.9%	7.0%	7.4%	7.1%	6.5%	6.2%

Table VIII.1 Ctd.

2A.2	One-year retention of full-time fall freshmen (to regular enrollment excluding continuing education)											
	Entry year (for reference)	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08
	N resident freshmen of color entering	403	453	512	517	593	593	607	588	653	638	643
	One-year retention rates											
	Resident freshmen of color	83%	85%	84%	81%	87%	83%	84%	82%	85%	82%	83%
	White resident freshmen	86%	85%	86%	87%	87%	88%	86%	87%	85%	87%	87%
2A.3	Six-year graduation rates of full-time fall resident freshmen (through summer of the sixth year)											
	Entry year (for reference)	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03
	N resident freshmen of color entering	438	491	479	402	459	403	453	512	517	593	593
	Six-year graduation rates of full-time fall freshmen											
	Resident freshmen of color	53%	53%	54%	59%	62%	63%	65%	61%	62%	66%	62%
	White resident freshmen	68%	69%	71%	71%	73%	71%	71%	71%	74%	72%	73%
2B	Graduate-level degrees (masters, doctorates, JDs) granted in the fiscal year (summer, fall, spring)											
	To residents of color	1,021	1,007	941	988	968	974	1,020	1,023	981	1,000	997
	To all students of color	1,021	1,007	941	988	968	974	1,020	1,023	981	1,000	997
	To all Whites	1,021	1,007	941	988	968	974	1,020	1,023	981	1,000	997
	N of color / N known race-ethnic, foreign excluded	12%	13%	14%	12%	13%	13%	13%	16%	14%	16%	16%

Table VIII.1 Ctd.

2B.1	New degree-seeking graduate level (masters, doctoral, law) students											
	New resident grads of color	95	96	96	85	99	101	88	106	82	85	88
	All new grads of color	168	151	151	145	174	171	154	171	165	159	188
	All White new grads	1,008	930	942	1,015	1,044	985	928	948	916	942	1,023
	N of color / N known race- ethnic, foreign excluded	14%	14%	14%	13%	14%	15%	14%	15%	15%	14%	16%

Beyond Diversity Plans: Initiatives and Programs at UCB

In the world of the Internet, college Web-pages are often a starting point for students researching universities they may be interested in attending as they graduate from high school. As a high school counselor working with students to pursue post-secondary options, I sit with students and look for information several times a day by going directly to individual college Websites. Through a Google Search with the search terms “University of Colorado Boulder Diversity,” I was directed to the diversity Webpage at www.colorado.edu/diversity. On this page, a statement regarding diversity is made:

CU-Boulder embraces the involvement of every student, staff, and faculty member, recognizing that a truly diverse community includes individuals from a range of ethnic, regional, cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds-as well as first-generation students, persons with disabilities, students who are parents, people of different sexual and gender orientations, people of different ages and political viewpoints, and many others. The Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement leads CU-Boulder's diversity efforts. The office fosters our vision for a diverse campus climate and works with students, faculty, and staff to implement the campus diversity plan (UCB, n.d.a).

Below this statement, an extensive list of offices and programs supporting the diversity plan at UCB appear with direct links to individual Webpages. The list includes (a) The Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement, (b) Center for Multicultural Affairs, (c) CU-LEAD Alliance and Scholarship Program, (d) Department of Equal Opportunity, (e) Disability Services, (f) Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered (GLBT) Resource Center, (g) Office of Discrimination and Harassment, (h) Precollegiate Development Program, (i) Diversity Statistics, and (j) Women's Resource Center. Beyond the programs listed above, each college and/or school at UCB is also responsible for producing a diversity plan. Links to diversity resources at each

college/school at UCB are accessible from this same Webpage and include (a) Leeds School of Business, (b) School of Education, (c) College of Engineering and Applied Science, (d) School of Journalism and Mass Communication, (e) School of Law, (f) College of Architecture & Planning, (g) College of Arts & Sciences, (h) College of Music, and (i) University Libraries.

Following the links to visit the individual Webpages of each program and school/college provided from the main diversity page reveals a great deal of insight into how diversity is valued by UCB and every part of the campus community. Each school/college within the UCB system appears to have dedicated resources and efforts into attracting, retaining, and graduating a diverse student body. Susani Harris was appointed to the position of Senior Director for Diversity and Inclusive Excellence for the School of Law in June of 2011. According to the School of Law Website, “Since July 2003 , the enrollment of racially and ethnically diverse students has risen from 17% to 29% , and these students are taught by faculty of color, who comprise 17% of the faculty, and women, who comprise 50% of the faculty at UCB. The School of Law further highlights its history as one of the first law schools to admit and graduate students of color. The first students of color entered law school at UCB in 1898 and the first woman graduated in 1908. Successful graduates of color are also featured on the Webpage, as well as information concerning student life, curriculum, and opportunities for career development particularly for minority students. The UCB School of Law represents an example of commitment to diversity that has seemingly resulted in success as a result of focusing intently upon attracting and graduating minority students.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER FACTORS IMPACTING MINORITY SUCCESS

As a professional school counselor with ten years of experience working in the Colorado public high school system, I have remained focused on the issues related to the “achievement gap” that have followed me from school to school and district to district. As I began my career working in an inner city school Denver Public Schools in 2002, all of my students were classified as underrepresented and all were learning English as a second language. As my students worked to graduate from high school and make plans for their futures, it was evident that many barriers stood in their way of attaining a college degree, including (a) their status as residents of Colorado and the United States, (b) the seemingly exorbitant and ever rising cost of college, (c) family demands and cultural expectations, (d) relatively low grade point averages and test scores compared to other college-bound students, and (e) naïveté about the entire college-admission process (from exploring possible college options, to completing applications, to beginning and completing the financial aid process, when possible).

As I moved to my next school placement, also in Denver Public Schools, I was exposed to a larger variety of minority and underrepresented student groups. These students spoke more than 60 languages and came from parts of the world that I had not imagined in my early career. I met brilliant students, again learning English as a second language, and worked tirelessly to help them find any and every opportunity available to them to continue into college upon graduating from high school. Throughout the first four years of my career, I became aware of the many barriers that became huge obstacles for Colorado high school graduates motivated to pursue a post-secondary education without

sacrificing nearly every shred of their families and themselves to do so. These experiences motivate my research.

Practitioner and Researcher

As I began my Doctoral education, as a privileged White woman seeking a third degree, my former students from DPS often let me in and out of the parking lot on the Auraria Campus free of charge; they were studying their tails off and working countless hours to make ends meet in their work study and other jobs, all in hopes of achieving the “American Dream.” As I pulled in and out of these lots several times a week over the past few years, not only did I recognize my own privilege, but was constantly reminded how hard it would be for these dedicated and committed young people to attain a dream that even I continue to chase—for the third time. The reality was (and still is) that many of these students were not college ready, not only in terms of academics but in terms of possessing the personal and social skills that they would need to navigate the monstrous system known as “College.”

As I transitioned into another public school system, moving from Denver to Littleton and then to the Cherry Creek Public Schools, I was greeted with different student populations but encountered a similar reality about the college readiness of the students with whom I was working. Of course, I also recognized a difference between minority and majority student groups, as the achievement gap was more recognizable in schools where minority students were truly a minority in terms of the overall population of students instead of minority students populating nearly the entire school as was the case in Denver. Many of the majority students with whom I have worked over the past six years did not qualify as “college ready” because of their low ACT scores. Further,

more of the minority students with whom I worked were in need of “remediation” than I would like to admit. Many of these minority students had grown up in the Cherry Creek school system, attending school within the district—one of the wealthiest in the state—for their entire school careers, and they still were not college ready. Thus, it appeared to me that on the surface, resources and school quality were not necessarily directly linked to student achievement. But, clearly, something is wrong with our system and a mutable explanation must exist.

Achievement Gap

Black and Hispanic students continue to attain low grade point averages (GPAs) and standardized test scores when compared to their White and Asian peers (ACT, 2011). This reality makes college admission a difficult goal to attain for many minority students, particularly as colleges and universities across the United States continue to raise admission standards (Hunter & Bartee, 2003). In Colorado, for example, admission to four-year-public colleges and universities is guaranteed to residents of the state who meet the set GPA and test-score standards as outlined by the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE, 2011).

As discussed in Chapter III, the admission standards vary for the public colleges and universities in Colorado which have been directed to use a specific GPA and test scores, calculated into an admission index score, to admit students. Because Black and Hispanic students tend to have lower GPAs and test scores than other students, they are undoubtedly admitted to four-year colleges and universities at lower rates than White and Asian students. This phenomenon contributes to what is known as the “minority student achievement gap.”

Low college attainment rates plague the nation and in Colorado, the achievement gap continues to play a major role in what is called the “Colorado Paradox” (Corash, Baker, Nawrocki, 2008). The paradox is described by the dilemma “that Colorado ranks among the top states in percentage of the population with a college degree, [and] very low in educating its native population” (p. 6). The Colorado Paradox continues to be one of the local problems in Colorado’s educational system that practitioners and policymakers are working to improve. In 2008, Colorado ranked 26th in the nation for its high school graduation rate: “71 out of every 100 ninth graders graduate from high school, 37 enter college, 26 are still enrolled their sophomore year, and 18 graduate from college within 150 percent of expected time” (Corash et al., 2008, p. 6). In their report, Corash et al. (2008) highlight the racial achievement gap as “nearly 42 percent of Colorado Hispanic adults have not earned a high school diploma and only 15 percent have gained some postsecondary degree” (p. 12). The achievement gap also affects African Americans, 16% of whom lack a high school diploma and only 29% of this group earned a postsecondary degree (Corash et al., 2008).

High school preparation becomes an essential solution to the problem facing Coloradoans. Race/ethnicity is another factor which has proven to impact college admissions. Though measures to increase access to higher education were implemented through the introduction of affirmative action policies in 1965, rates of minority students attending colleges and universities are still lagging nationally (Engoren, 2006), and Colorado mirrors the nation (Corash et al., 2008).

High School Preparation

In a thorough discussion about retention of minority students in colleges and universities across the United States, Swail, Redd, and Perna (2003) highlight four “critical junctures” that must be better understood by researchers in order to increase the college graduation rates of students of color. The first critical juncture identified by these authors is *high school readiness*: “Research shows that the level of academic preparation in high school is positively related to high school graduation rates, college entrance examination scores, predisposition toward college, college enrollment, representation at more selective colleges and universities, rates of transfer from a two-year to a four-year institution, progress toward earning a bachelor’s degree by age 30, college persistence rates, and college completion rates” (p. 6). This juncture in and of itself appears vital to the future success of students of color.

High school readiness is an essential component in discussions related to post-secondary opportunities and especially related to pursuing a post-secondary degree, and historically high schools nationally and in Colorado have not done well (Swail et al., 2003; Corash et al., 2008). Swail et al. (2003) recognize this crucial piece to the puzzle noting that “Completing a rigorous curricular program during high school appears to be a more important predictor of college persistence than test scores, particularly for African American and Hispanic students” (p. 6).

High school readiness, also referred to as “Academic Preparedness” is related to retention of students entering college and continuing their education until they earn a degree (Swail et al., 2003). Accordingly, “research shows that between 30 and 40 percent of all entering freshmen are unprepared for college-level reading and writing and

approximately 44 percent of all college students who complete a two-or-four year degree had enrolled in at least one remedial or developmental course in math, writing, or reading” (Swail et al., 2003, p. 8).

Measuring College Readiness

Standardized test scores, such as SAT (Scholastic Assessment Test) and ACT (American College Test), have become inherently important as high school students apply for admission to our nation’s schools and colleges. The factors associated with earning ACT scores which warrant college admission are undoubtedly complex, but the research suggests that a combination of clearly defined variables predict standardized test scores (Hunter & Bartee, 2003). These variables include (a) high school grade point average (GPA), (b) college readiness/high school preparation, and (c) race. These factors are often analyzed by researchers interested in answering questions about disparities in standardized test scores, college readiness, grade point average, and college admissions across racial and ethnic groups.

Standardized Testing

Given the climate of our schools and the pressure placed on educators to leave no child behind, standardized testing has become a yearly mandate (No Child Left Behind Act of 2001). In Colorado, students begin taking standardized tests in third grade. As a strategy to prepare more students for college and combat the Colorado paradox discussed previously, the ACT has been administered to all Colorado juniors in lieu of other state-based standardized assessments beginning in Spring, 2002 (ACT). The ACT is one of two standardized tests used for college admissions, with the other being the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) that is taken by students in many states across the country. ACT

tests students on content learned in English, Science, and Mathematics courses through the junior year of high school. The ACT organization has conducted extensive research and has discovered students who have taken demanding coursework across subject areas throughout their high school careers attain academic success as they enter a post-secondary institution (ACT, n.d.).

In the state of Colorado, public schools use the ACT as a measure to determine the college readiness of their students across the four tested subject areas: English, Reading, Math, and Science. The most recent 2011 ACT report suggests that “Sixty-six percent of all ACT tested high school graduates met the English College Readiness Benchmark in 2011. Just 1 in 4 (25%) met all four College Readiness Benchmarks” (ACT, 2011, p. 2). And, data collected and distributed by ACT shows that, “Fully 28% of all high school graduates did not meet any of the College Readiness Benchmarks” (p. 4). Ethnicity and race continue to surface as factors of college readiness as the data revealed that “African American graduates were least likely to meet the Benchmarks-4% met all four” (p. 5). For me, as an educator working in Colorado schools for 10 years, this statistic is startling. As a counselor who is accountable for ensuring that every high school graduate in my charge has a four-year plan in place that includes a career and college goal, it seems ridiculous that so few of my minority students will even have a shot at being accepted to a four-year college or university in Colorado or across the United States.

As measured by the ACT, many high school graduates do not leave high school with the college-readiness skills they need, and data collected by the testing agency suggest that the majority of students taking the ACT do plan to attend college. In fact,

“About 89% of all 2011 ACT–tested high school graduates aspired to attain at least a 2-year postsecondary degree, regardless of race/ethnicity” (ACT, 2011, p. 9). Given the demands and competitive nature of the present-day workforce, a college education appears to be ever more important. ACT data suggest that, “The five fastest-growing career fields based on 2008-2018 annual projected job openings account for 56% of the jobs calling for at least a 2-year degree” (p. 10). High school graduates recognize that their diploma does not make them the most desirable employee; they also recognize the importance of continuing their education.

Though the achievement gap is encountered across school districts in Colorado and the country, research shows that high school preparation does make a difference for the college-bound student. ACT discovered positive correlations between ACT scores and core curriculum preparation in English, Reading, Math and Science. Trends in the data from 2007 through 2011 reveal that “ACT Composite and subject scores were higher for students who took a core curriculum or more in high school than for students who did not” (ACT, 2011, p. 17). Recognizing the importance of the core curriculum and ACT test scores, interestingly 69% of African American and 72% of Hispanic students, compared to 74% of the entire ACT test taking population, reported taking a minimum core high school curriculum to prepare for college (p. 15). Between 2007 and 2011, ACT Composite scores of White and Asian high school graduates increased, while those of African American and Hispanic students remained about the same (p. 18).

In an effort to address college readiness, the most recent ACT report (2011) recommends six policies and practices to increase the percentage of students ready for college level work.

1. Adopting common core state standards is essential to prepare all students for the demands of college and work.
2. Exposing all high school students to a rigorous core curriculum, regardless of post-secondary plans and goals, which consist of four years of English, and three years of math, science, and social studies.
3. Establishing clear performance standards is another essential piece of attaining college readiness: “ACT defines college readiness as students having a 50% chance of earning a grade of B or higher or about a 75% chance of earning a grade of C or higher” in first-year core academic courses across subject areas in college (ACT, 2011, p. 21).
4. Preparing students for the demands of college level academic work through exposure to rigorous core coursework. Increasing rigor has consistently proven to be more effective in preparing students for college, rather than simply meeting a set number of courses across subject areas, as previously outlined.
5. Intervening early, progress monitoring and career, college, and coursework planning are important for all students to better prepare for college and careers (ACT, 2011, p. 21).
6. Utilizing longitudinal data systems and tracking students throughout their educational careers seem to be useful and efficient tools that can be used across the P-16 system (ACT, 2011, p. 22).

ACT ‘s College Readiness Benchmarks

As described previously, college-readiness benchmarks reflect the scores on the ACT subject area tests that represent the level of achievement required for students to

have a 50% chance of obtaining a B or higher or about a 75% chance of obtaining a C or higher in corresponding credit-bearing first-year college courses. These college courses include English Composition, College Algebra, Biology, and an introductory social science course. Based on a nationally representative sample, the Benchmarks are median course placement values for these institutions and as such represent a *typical* set of expectations. The ACT College Readiness Benchmarks are: (a) English 18, (b) Reading 21, (c) Math 22, and (d) Science 24 (ACT, 2011, p. 24).

Predicting College Success: More than a Test-Score

Noble (2003) investigated the effects of using ACT composite score and high school average on college admission decisions for racial and ethnic groups to further investigate the role of test scores and GPA on predicting college success rates. Her sample included African-American, Hispanic, and Caucasian students from 25 post-secondary institutions across the United States. Her research revealed that high school grade-point average and standardized test-scores were relatively accurate predictors of first-year outcomes for Black students but not as accurate for White and Hispanic students. Given her findings, Noble stresses the importance of using both grade-point average and standardized-test scores to make college admissions decisions. She believes that combining grade-point average and ACT scores provides a more accurate understanding of student background and a student's potential for success in the college environment.

In examining school level ACT data, it is evident high school grade-point averages and standardized test-scores vary considerably across racial/ethnic groups. Linn (2001) recognized the disparities inherent in our current system of education, and fears

that the elimination of affirmative-action programs poses a major threat for minority students applying for admission to colleges and universities. Utilizing ACT state level score report data recorded for 2011 high school graduates, the difference in average scores across racial/ethnic groups is apparent. For the 2011 test, the average composite ACT score in Colorado for Black students was 17, for White students 22.4, for Hispanic students 18.7, and for Asian students 23.6 (ACT, 2011). The state average composite ACT score for 2011 was 20.7, compared to the national average of 21.1.

High school preparation and college readiness measures continue to surface as important factors for increasing ACT scores (Noble & Schnelker, 2007). ACT state level data reveals Black students who take the recommended core courses or more than the recommended courses earn composite scores two points higher ($M = 18.3$) than Black students who have not taken the recommended core courses ($M = 16.3$). The trend is similar for students across racial/ethnic groups, with Hispanic students earning composite scores, on average gaining two and a half points, when taking the recommended core ($M = 18.7$) than Hispanic students who have not taken the recommended core ($M = 16.1$).

Noble and Schnelker (2007) recognized the importance of high-school preparation and the relationship between college readiness and ACT scores. Using a diverse, national data set to conduct their study, their findings revealed that students who took higher-level math and sciences courses throughout high school, not surprisingly earned higher scores on both the mathematics and science sections of the ACT test. However, Noble and Schnelker also found school-level characteristics, particularly the accrediting region of the school, had a profound impact upon course taking patterns and ACT scores of students. Given the complexity of the model used in the study, further

exploration of their results and findings is necessary prior to drawing additional conclusions or broad generalizations. Through research conducted by ACT, it is evident that course work patterns influence ACT scores across subject areas, and thus also influence ACT composite scores. Students who take or exceed the recommended core courses typically earn higher ACT scores than students who do not. However, characteristics of individual schools should be considered, because access to coursework and resources vary across regions and states in the United States.

The Funding Equation

In December 2012, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education published the Tuition and Fees Report for Fiscal Year 2010-2011. According to CCHE, undergraduate resident tuition rate increases ranged from 7.1% at University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, to 16.8% for students enrolling in 15 credit hours per term at Mesa State College. The majority of institutions raised tuition rates 9% in 2010-2011 for resident undergraduate students. The University of Colorado Boulder noted a 7.3% increase in resident tuition and fees from 2009-2010 to 2010-2011.

In a recent article Marcus (2012) suggests that “the cause of the college enrollment drop-off is largely skyrocketing tuition and concern about debt” (p. 1). The same article reports that “at least 375 colleges report space still available for the fall, up from 279 last year, and the highest number this century. Seventy percent (of these schools with openings) are private” (p. 1). However, private schools aren’t the only institutions at risk, as “even community colleges-drowning in double-digit growth for the past few years-experienced enrollment dips this year” (Marcus, 2012, p. 1).

Undoubtedly, costs of pursuing a higher education factor greatly into the decisions facing families across the United States. Cuts in per student spending have been made in states across the US in recent years, nearly 11 percent since 2010, to the lowest levels since the 1980s (Marcus, 2012). Costs to attend community college have continued to rise, an average of 9% this year, and more students than before are left to rely on federal financial aid (Marcus, 2012). Across the community college system in the state of Colorado, students felt the increase of tuition rates for the 2010-2011 school year from the previous school year by 9%. In 2009-2010, 28.6% of students enrolled in Colorado colleges and universities were recipients of a Pell Grant (CCHE, 2012).

In challenging economic times students and parents most certainly begin to weigh the costs and benefits of a college education, trying to determine if education really is worth the price. Kadlec (2012) weighs the proposition of employability with the value of college, and his research suggests, “In the U.S., 62% of jobs require a degree beyond high school; that share will rise to 75% by 2020. In 2010, 90% of college graduates from 2008-2010 were employed while only 64% of peers not attending college had jobs” (p. 1). While the value of a college degree still seems to be debatable, these types of statistics serve as an impetus for high school graduates to find a way to continue their education at the college level. Of course, in order to do so, consideration of personal finances and funding options appear critical.

The complicated funding equation is beyond the scope of this chapter and dissertation, but it is necessary to include some background about college funding to better understand the many factors impacting college enrollment and graduation rates, particularly those factors impacting underrepresented students on college and university

campuses across the US. The College Board, a familiar organization to students considering college today, conducts research on college success and opportunity, including trends in college pricing. Their most recent report, published in 2011, discusses vital information in terms of college pricing and highlights various aspects of the complicated funding equation.

As mentioned, the College Board published their report, “Trends in College Pricing 2011,” to highlight the most recent trends facing students enrolling or enrolled in institutions of higher education. An increase in college prices for the 2011-2012 academic year are evident and accordingly appear to “reflect the influence of a weak economy and state funding that has not kept up with the growth in college enrollments” (p. 3). However, College Board further notes, “substantial variation across states in pricing patterns makes national averages particularly difficult to interpret this year” (p. 3). Some consistencies in the data reported by College Board describe the state of the uncertain state of the US economy. For example, “In 2010, average income was lower at all levels of the income distribution than it had been a decade earlier”(p. 4). At the same time that average income levels were seen to decline, “State appropriations per full-time equivalent student declined by 9% in constant dollars in 2008-09, by another 6% in 2009-10, and by 4% in 2010-11” (p. 4) for a total of 19% in three years.

Among the many data points shared in the College Board report discussed here, state appropriations is one area of particular interest because Colorado stands out in this area.

In 2010-11, when average state appropriations per \$1000 of personal income were \$6.33, New Hampshire provided \$2.44 and Colorado provided \$3.57 per \$1000 of personal income for higher education operations. At the other end of the spectrum, appropriations per \$1000 of personal income were \$12.73 in New Mexico and \$14.38 in Wyoming. (College Board, 2011, p. 19)

As shares of revenue coming from state and local appropriations have decreased over the past decade, the share of revenues coming from net tuition has increased (p. 20). Thus, because of the minimal allocations from personal income tax devoted to the funding of higher education in Colorado, tuition rates of public post-secondary institutions have increased considerably in the last decade.

According to the most recent College Board (2011) report on trends in college pricing, “the median full-time public four-year college student, including both in-state and out-of-state students, is enrolled at an institution with published tuition and fees of \$8,274” (p. 11). The College Board also highlights data suggesting that “Both federal grant aid and federal education tax credits have increased significantly since 2007-08” (p. 16). In terms of family income levels, it is necessary to note, “In 2010, the median income for Black and Hispanic families was less than 6% of the median income for White families” (p. 24).

Federal Level

Between the years of 2007 and 2012, funding for higher education in 49 reporting states decreased by 3% (Zumeta, 2012). According to Zumeta (2012), “funding reductions over the five-year period ranged as high as 33 percent . . . to five to nine percent” (p. 31). Institutions of higher education experienced the worst year yet in fiscal year 2012 “because federal ARRA funds had largely run out” (Zumeta, 2012, p. 31). Reduction of federal assistance dollars had a direct impact on students at state colleges

and universities. For example, in Colorado, “allocations to its state universities [were decreased] by 11.5 percent between FY 2011 and FY 2012” (Zumeta, 2012, p. 33). Not surprisingly, as federal and state support for public higher education has fallen, tuition rates continue to rise, growing “the most at public four year institutions since 2000”, increasing 8.3% on average (Zumeta, p. 34). As highlighted below, there are some bright spots in this bleak outlook as “a remarkable shift in federal funds from loans to Pell and veterans’ grants increased student grant aid from \$25.4 billion to \$49.1 billion between 2008-09 and 2010-11” (Zumeta, p. 35).

College Cost Reduction and Access Act. The College Cost Reduction and Access Act was approved by the Senate and signed into law by President George W. Bush in September of 2007. Many of the provisions included in the bill went into effect beginning October 1, 2007. The legislation associated with the CCRAA made important changes to provide opportunities for a diverse array of students to afford a college education. Some of these important changes, aimed at improving the plight of underserved and underrepresented students included (a) mandatory increases in Pell Grant awards, (b) several changes to borrower benefits in the long term, (c) issues associated with need analysis and packaging, (d) funds for the Upward Bound Program, and (e) new programs to benefit borrowers, including grants for becoming a public servant (teachers, etc.).

Student Aid and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2009. This bill was introduced in July 2009 and passed by the House in September of 2009 but was never passed by the Senate. The purpose of this bill was to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to authorize and appropriate such sums as may be necessary to fully fund maximum Pell

Grant amounts (Lederman, 2009). The main components of the bill were aimed at increasing college access and completion rates, as well as increasing funding for grants to historically Black colleges and universities and other minority-serving institutions through FY 2019.

State Level

In 2012, “federal grant aid accounted for 40 percent of all grant aid in Colorado; Pell grants alone accounted for 36 percent of total grant aid” (Colorado Department of Higher Education, 2012, p. 3). Federal funds are the largest source of financial aid for students, but institutional aid has been seen to grow considerably and “comprises approximately 43 percent of all grant aid” (Colorado Department of Higher Education, 2012, p. 3). With the goal of increasing access to institutions of higher education, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education, Colorado Department of Higher Education, and the Governor face many challenges as the number of students eligible for aid has increased during the recent economic downturn (Colorado Department of Higher Education, 2012). From 2007 through 2012, student need “has increased at a rate greater than that of state aid” (Colorado Department of Higher Education, 2012, p. 9). Various forms of state aid are available to students and include (a) State-funded grants, (b) Work-based aid, and (c) State-funded categorical and entitlement programs (Colorado Department of Education, 2012). Discussions about funding higher education in Colorado are not complete without discussing TABOR and the College Opportunity Fund.

TABOR. The Taxpayer Bill of Rights, also known as TABOR, was a constitutional amendment adopted in Colorado in 1992, that limited “the growth of state and local revenues to a highly restrictive formula: inflation plus the annual change in

population” (Lav & Williams, 2010). As a result, a significant decline in the state’s public services has had serious negative implications for residents in Colorado and across the US. Among other public services, higher education in Colorado suffered tremendously under TABOR, as funding per resident student dropped by 31 percent and college and university funding as a share of personal income declined from 35th in the nation in 1998 to 48th in 2004. In 2008, Colorado still ranked 48th out of 50 in terms of college funding as a share of personal income. As a result, tuition rates at colleges and universities across the state have continued to rise considerably. Between 2002-2005, tuition climbed 21 percent and has increased 31 percent since 2005.

College Opportunity Fund. Beginning in the fall of 2005, the funding method of public colleges changed with the introduction of the College Opportunity Fund (COF). The COF was created by the Colorado Legislature and implemented to provide a stipend to eligible undergraduate students pursuing a higher education at a public college or university, or at a participating private college or university, in Colorado. Historically, public colleges received funding directly from the state of Colorado in the form of a general fund subsidy. The stipend for eligible undergraduate students now goes to the college on behalf of the student and the amount paid to the college is based upon the number of credit hours a student registers for each semester.

The stipend pays a portion of total in-state tuition rates at Colorado public institutions of higher education, and at participating private institutions of higher education. Each year, the Colorado General Assembly specifies the amount of the stipend per credit hour and this rate remains the same regardless of the public state school a student chooses to attend. The current amount of \$62 per semester per credit hour at

public universities and colleges, and \$31 per semester per credit hour at participating private schools, has been established through the summer of 2013. The law creating COF caps student stipends at 145 total credit hours. Schools report total stipend hours per student, per semester, to the COF. COF matches student information with established student accounts and disburses the stipend amount directly to the institution of post-secondary education on behalf of each eligible undergraduate student. Eligibility is granted to those students classified as in-state students for tuition purposes. (COF, n.d.).

School Level

In the 2011-2012 Colorado Department of Higher Education Financial Aid Report, the increasing role of institutional aid is highlighted: “Institutional aid plays a significant role in financial aid packaging” (p. 12). From 2007 through 2012, institutional aid has increased nearly 88% and has been dispersed to more students; 64% of this aid is awarded for merit. Four-year public and non-profit private colleges and universities award the greatest amount of institutional aid to eligible students. Of the four-year public institutions in Colorado, 48.7% of aid issued to students at the University of Colorado Boulder come from institutional grants, exceeding the state average of 31.18% and exceeding the percentage of institutional grants offered by any of the other four-year public colleges and universities in Colorado.

The University of Colorado Boulder openly discussed their concerns with the current educational funding model throughout the state of Colorado in their Flagship 2030 Report (2009). In the introduction of the report, the financial challenges facing the university are highlighted as nationally, UCB exhibits “the lowest percentage of state funding among major public research universities.... State financial support...now

reflects less than 8 percent of the total university budget” (p. 16). Colorado’s lack of funding for K-12 and higher education institutions has been newsworthy, particularly during the past few years as educational funding has plummeted to new lows (Anas, 2011). In 1960, state taxes composed 30% of UCB’s operating budget, while private donations made up just one percent of the campus’s budget (Anas, 2011). Today, 5.4% of UCB’s budget is generated from state funds, while private donations make up 4 percent of the campus budget (Anas, 2011). The school has become dependent upon tuition and fees, grants and contracts, and federal stimulus funds to round out operating costs (Anas, 2011).

CHAPTER X

RACE AND DIVERSITY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER AND HIGHER EDUCATION NATIONALLY

On November 10, 2012, Anas published an article in Boulder's *Daily Camera* newspaper with the headline: "CU-Boulder Freshman Class Most Diverse in Campus History." Statistics and other data presented throughout this dissertation highlight the many challenges that UCB has faced throughout its history to increase diversity on campus and to provide educational opportunities to historically underrepresented students in Colorado, across the nation, and the world. These types of news headlines are promising, but because "race matters" it is important to dig deeper to determine if, why, and how diversity has increased on the Boulder campus, especially during the 2000s and into 2012. The fall 2012 Edition of ODECE News further highlights the diversity gains made on UCB's campus: "Over the past five years, CU-Boulder has increased diversity from almost 20% to more than 26% of our resident freshman class" (p. 8). Table X.1 provides an overview of resident and non-resident students, separated into race/ethnic categories, who have enrolled at UCB from 2003 through fall 2012.

The data reveal an overall 1% increase of total Colorado residents choosing to enroll at UCB during the years 2003 to 2012. The increase of Colorado resident students was characterized by a significant increase of resident Hispanic students (45%) and a slight increase of resident Asian students (6%) enrolling since 2003. The diversity and enrollment of non-resident students has increased 12% during the 2003-2012 timeframe. Similar to the pattern demonstrated with resident students, data tracking the enrollment of non-resident Hispanic students (146%) reveals dramatic increases at UCB throughout the

past decade. The enrollment of non-resident foreign students (47%) and non-resident African American students (30%) has also contributed to the increased diversity at UCB this fall, 2012.

Interestingly, the raw numbers of resident African American students actually declined 4% at UCB from 2003 to 2012. What becomes clear from an examination of the longitudinal data highlighting the race and ethnicity of students enrolling at UCB is that though diversity has increased, the university continues to struggle to attract a diverse array of students to campus, particularly Colorado-resident African American students whose numbers have proven to be persistently low throughout the history of the university into the present day. As presented throughout this dissertation, it is necessary to consider the variety of factors that contribute to this struggle.

Table X.1

Fall Census Headcounts by year, residency, and race/ethnicity. Degree and licensure-seeking students only. Ethnicity categories of 'Pacific Islander' and 'Two or more' were added in 2010.

Student Characteristics		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Percent change (03-12)
Resident	Asian	1,180	1,290	1,368	1,428	1,425	1,426	1,380	1,369	1,339	1,247	6%
	African American	326	341	350	351	327	334	358	363	346	313	-4%
	Hispanic/Latino	1,256	1,354	1,404	1,419	1,493	1,427	1,448	1,579	1,760	1,816	45%
	Native American	148	156	170	170	179	170	166	147	124	106	-28%
	Pacific Islander								2	3	8	
	White	14,492	15,062	15,314	15,206	15,197	15,170	15,133	15,056	14,667	14,084	-3%
	Two or more								137	309	437	
	Foreign	91	68	71	75	73	64	62	60	56	56	-38%
	Unknown	1,032	1,176	1,207	1,188	1,162	1,119	1,087	921	723	649	-37%
	Total	18,525	19,447	19,884	19,837	19,856	19,710	19,634	19,634	19,327	18,716	1%
Non-Resident	Asian	289	276	304	291	297	301	343	304	261	220	-24%
	African American	90	107	98	98	103	98	114	124	116	117	30%
	Hispanic/Latino	259	282	283	250	282	333	354	463	552	637	146%
	Native American	61	64	66	52	71	69	70	64	50	52	-15%
	Pacific Islander								1	8	8	
	White	7,173	7,456	7,172	6,777	6,960	6,970	7,519	7,528	7,560	7,349	2%
	Two or more								97	180	271	
	Foreign	1,074	1,013	895	837	930	1,054	1,153	1,303	1,425	1,577	47%
	Unknown	483	506	556	482	443	453	522	436	405	331	-31%
	Total	9,429	9,704	9,374	8,787	9,086	9,278	10,075	10,320	10,557	10,562	12%
Grand Total		27,954	29,151	29,258	28,624	28,942	28,988	29,709	29,954	29,884	29,278	5%

Source: University of Colorado Boulder Planning, Budget, and Analysis (2012).

Racial Inequities in Education

The historical struggle of access for diverse students at UCB begins with the unveiling of the historical roots of racial inequities that characterize the US educational system, historically and currently, as outlined in Chapter II. Initially, the US educational system was characterized by a long period of segregation, followed by a period of court mandated desegregation beginning in 1954 with efforts spanning several decades, and leading to the present day where re-segregation has once again become commonplace in schools throughout the country (Anyon, 2005; Harvey, Harvey, & King, 2004; Kozol, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Historically, much of the discussion concerning the role of race in education centered upon providing equal access to opportunities in the K-12 education system; research has shown that K-12 opportunities readily impact the system of higher education across the country (ACT, 2011; Hunter & Bartee, 2003; Linn, 2001; Noble, 2003; Noble & Schnellker, 2007; Swail et al., 2003).

As witnessed in several landmark cases concerning race-conscious educational policy (*Brown*, 1954; *Brown II*, 1955, *Green*, 1968; *Swann*, 1971; *Keyes*, 1973; *Baake*, 1978; *Hopwood*, 1996; *LeSage*, 1997; *Gratz*, 2003; *Grutter*, 2003; *Fisher*, n.d.) the courts have been historically involved with protecting the rights of individuals to access equal and equitable higher-education opportunities, as well. Specifically, the use of race-conscious educational policies, namely affirmative action, used by colleges and universities to embrace and enhance diverse student populations on campus has been questioned. Ultimately, the courts have been put into the position of making decisions regarding the fairness and effectiveness of such policies, while influenced by personal and social political beliefs.

Implications of *Fisher v. Texas*

Today as the entire educational system, now described as P-16 (preschool through college graduation) or P-20 (preschool through graduate education), continues to focus on educational disparities related to race, policies such as affirmative action continue to be openly debated. As described in Chapter II, the Supreme Court is currently considering the case of *Fisher v. Texas* (n.d.), and colleges and universities throughout the nation await the pending decision expected to come June 2013 (Sherman, 2012). Regardless of the Court decision in *Fisher*, the outcome of the decision will impact colleges and universities across the country that currently consider race as a factor in offering admission to historically underrepresented applicants in an effort to achieve and maintain diversity on campus.

From the late 1990s through 2008, state legislation and ballot measures introduced and adopted to end the use of policies such as affirmative action became more widespread. These efforts were defeated in most states in which they were introduced, including Colorado, in 2008 and did not resurface in the past election of 2012 (Adversity.net, 2007; www.civilrights.org, 2012; The Kirwan Institute, 2008; Walker, 1999). With the election of the first African-American President in the US in 2008, and Barack Obama's recent reelection in 2012, scholars debate whether or not the United States has entered a Post-Racial Era where race really no longer matters (Ford, 2008; Leiter & Leiter, 2011). However, the findings presented in this dissertation suggest that conversations about race and the lasting impact of racism continue to have a place in our society today. Colleges and universities across the country, including the University of Colorado Boulder, play an important role in maintaining race-conscious programs and

policies to ensure that all students have equal access and equal opportunity to succeed through the college years and beyond.

Interestingly, UCB does not seem to want to take an active role in the debate concerning race-conscious programs and policies as revealed by a Boulder *Daily Camera* headline in October of 2012 (Anas). While other universities filed amicus briefs in support of the undergraduate admissions policy at the University of Texas, as of October “CU has not taken a formal position on the case, according to university officials” (Anas, 2012). According to the article, when asked by the American Council on Education whether or not the university wanted to be a part of the brief, “CU never provided a statement of interest because officials didn’t have enough time to gather input from the Board of Regents”, as is required in these types of instances (Anas, 2012). At this time, UCB’s Board of Regents is Republican-controlled and it’s possible that they would not have voted in favor of supporting the admission policy in Texas. CU, like many other colleges, does consider race in a holistic admissions process but given the threat of Amendment 46, the anti-affirmative action legislation that surfaced on the ballot in Colorado 2008, “CU is ahead of the curve should a legal change occur.... they would place an emphasis on socio-economic status.... to make sure they still have diversity” (Anas, 2012).

It is likely that many institutions of higher education have devised means to attract diverse students to campus in lieu of using race to do so, but it is undeniable that race continues to play a vital role in the conversation regarding education throughout our country, whether discussing K-12 or higher education systems. Given the permanence of racism and racial disparities exhibited in our country’s educational system, the survival of

affirmative action policies that hold public institutions accountable for educating all of the students in our country seem necessary. UCB's recent stance in *Fisher* causes reason for pause as Coloradoans consider what the flagship university's silence really means. Garcia (1997), among other scholars, made the plea for institutions of higher education years ago to "take a more active role in shaping public policy" and suggested, "inattention to our opponents, negligence in communicating our position to the public, and a failure to document and convey our results has contributed to the current state of affairs in which our commitment to inclusion and education for all is being forcefully challenged" (p. 252). As the state's flagship university, UCB's silence in matters that pertain directly to diversity, an issue with which the university has historically struggled to address, speaks volumes to those on both sides of the ongoing debate.

Permanence of Racism in Colorado: Impact on Educational Opportunity

Recognizing the permanent effects of racism on our social, educational, and economic systems throughout the US is central to continuing the historically rooted conversation presented throughout this dissertation. Because a study of this nature has not yet been conducted, focusing solely on the access of diverse students to the University of Colorado Boulder, the research compiled here is a first attempt at "calling attention to the reality of the continued existence of discrimination in our country" (Garcia, M., p. 251). In this study, I have attempted to call attention to the continued existence of discrimination in Colorado and specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder. Thus, in Chapter III, Colorado's history with race and diversity is presented in part to strengthen and support the debate associated with the need for race-conscious educational

policy at institutions of higher education across the state and to highlight the lasting negative impact of racism, even in Colorado.

As an example of the lasting negative impact of racism, Colorado continues to struggle to close the recognizable achievement gap between White and Asian students and Hispanic and African American students across the P-16/P-20 system. Even though Colorado sends an abysmally low number of high school graduates to local colleges and universities, of particular concern are the lower high school graduation rates, college enrollment, and college success rates of Hispanic and Black students compared to those of White and Asian students across the state. In terms of high school graduation rates, Hispanic (60.1%) and Black (64.6%) students are less likely to graduate than their White (81.1%) and Asian (81.7%) peers (CDE, 2011). This problematic high school graduation trend persists throughout higher education, as well. The most recent data for the 2004 college-going cohort in Colorado highlights differences across racial/ethnic groups in four-year, five-year, and six-year college graduation rates (Colorado Department of Higher Education, 2011). At 61.2%, Asian students boast the highest college graduation rates within six years of enrolling, followed by White students at 60.2%, students with an unknown ethnicity at 54.5%, Non-resident aliens at 48.2%, Hispanic students at 47.6%, Native Americans at 34%, and African Americans at 33.2% (Colorado Department of Higher Education, 2011, p. 4).

The most recent legislative report on the postsecondary progress and success of Colorado high school graduates, submitted in 2012, includes data compiled from the 2008-2009 graduating high school classes (Garcia, J.). The report describes college enrollment trends and student progress one year after high school graduation. These data

reveal that of 50,174 2008-2009 graduates, 66.8% enrolled in college or university, including students who enrolled at either in-state or out-of-state institutions, in the fall of 2009 (Garcia, J., 2012, p. 3). Of the 66.8% of students who enrolled in an institution of higher education, the majority were White (75%), followed by Hispanic students (14.4%), African American students (5%), Asian (4.1%), and Native American (.7%) (p. 3). White and Asian students boasted the highest college attendance rates, 72.8% and 78.2%, respectively, followed by African American students at 65.8%, Hispanic students at 48.7%, and Native American students at 48.2% (p. 3). African American students had the highest out of state college enrollment rate at 25.8%, followed by White students at 23.6% (p. 3). Expanding the discussion to include the importance of adequate high school preparation and a need to refocus K-12 educational efforts upon preparing students for post-secondary education and other future endeavors, data included in the legislative report suggest historically underrepresented students are outperformed by White and Asian students throughout college (Garcia, J., 2012). During the 2009-2010 academic year, Asian students earned the highest cumulative college grade point average, 2.72, while African American students earned the lowest college grade point average, 2.29, across all race/ethnic groups (Garcia, J., p. 2). Across the state of Colorado, educational stakeholders have much work to do to close the achievement gaps highlighted by these data.

Permanence of Racism: Impact on the University of Colorado Boulder

Through historical analysis, which included examining a variety of archival sources, newspaper articles, and information maintained on Websites as described in Chapter I, my study highlights the permanence of racism present within the system of

education across the US, in Colorado, and at UCB in particular. The main purpose of this dissertation was to shed light on the history of diverse student access at the University of Colorado Boulder in an effort to contribute to the expanding field of research on race, diversity, and educational policy as efforts are continually made to ensure and improve educational equality and equitable access to colleges and universities for students across racial groups. The history of race and diverse student access to UCB has not been examined extensively in previous research, and as a first-step study, this dissertation reveals that diverse student access to the university is an issue yet to be resolved. Data undeniably shows that the room for improvement at the University of Colorado Boulder in terms of diverse student access to the university is extensive and impacts all underrepresented groups and Blacks in particular. In order to resolve issues surrounding diverse student access at UCB and similar universities into the future, it is vital that institutions of higher education examine their own histories, policies, and practices—or lack of proactive, positive practices—that may contribute to the persistence of racial disparities and inequities that are exhibited in varying admission, retention, and graduation rates between historically underrepresented student groups as compared to White and Asian students. The persistence of racial disparities in education continue to limit avenues that lead to social and economic success across all groups of individuals residing in our country and in the state of Colorado.

As Colorado's flagship university, since opening its doors to the first students in the fall of 1877, the University of Colorado Boulder has served millions of students with the goal of preparing them for successful futures in a wide variety of career fields. Although founded upon an egalitarian tradition, the majority of students served by the

university since its opening have been White. Founded in a racially segregated society, UCB has had to adapt to the changing societal norms and expectations that have gained strength and taken hold throughout the country, to emerge through the period of desegregation during the late 1930s through the civil rights movement of the 1960s and beyond, and work to establish itself as an all-inclusive institution of higher education through the period of integration beginning in the 1970s and continuing today.

As detailed in Chapter IV, leaders of the university have faced various challenges throughout the years as they've worked to propel UCB forward. Efforts to embrace diversity and provide diverse groups of students with equal opportunity and equitable access to the university system are an obstacle faced by university leaders and discussed throughout the dissertation. Some of the challenges posed by welcoming a racially diverse student body to campus from 1877 to 2012 have been documented and maintained in the university archives, newspaper articles, books, and on Websites; historical analysis of these documents provides insight into the struggles and pressures faced by leaders of UCB, as well as leaders of our country and other individuals and groups that have an expressed interest in creating institutions where all people are respected and treated as equals.

The obstacles encountered by leaders of UCB through the 1980s, including the diversity issue, have been documented and detailed in three histories about the university that are available to the public in book form (Davis, 1965; Allen et al., 1976; James, 1979). Information about the struggles encountered by the university's more recent leaders are yet to be documented in book form, but some insight into the many challenges they've encountered can be garnered from perusing the UCB archives, Colorado

newspapers, and Websites associated with education and the university in particular. In the 1990s, diversity seemingly emerged as the new buzzword in higher education and in response to this trend and CCHE's focus on diversity efforts at all of the public universities and colleges across the state of Colorado, leaders at the University of Colorado Boulder ramped up their efforts to increase the presence of diverse students on campus. Documents pertaining to the advantages associated with diverse college campuses for all students were collected by university leaders and maintained in the President's papers in the archives during the 1990s. This focus on diversity is also apparent when perusing the University's Webpage, as well as the Websites associated with the Colorado Department of Education and Higher Education, and the Colorado Commission on Higher Education.

Through the 1990s and into the present, every public college and university across the state of Colorado has been, and continues to be, required to produce and share diversity reports annually with the CCHE and these reports are available for public perusal. UCB's yearly diversity reports are available on the Website, www.colorado.edu/pba.div. CCHE uses the diversity reports to hold institutions of higher education accountable for their efforts to increase diversity, as well as to measure the success rates of all students. As documented in these diversity reports, the growing commitment toward creating a campus where diversity is embraced and championed by students, staff, faculty, and community members at UCB is written about extensively. Gains have been made in recent years to attract and serve Hispanic students and because Colorado expects to see an increase in the Hispanic population residing in our state, this trend is likely to continue. However, recent data also reveal that the commitment to

diversity, whether through policies or special programs, must continue into the future as UCB in particular continues to struggle to attract and successfully serve African American students. As verified in Table X.1, the number of African American students choosing to enroll at UCB throughout the 2000s has remained consistently low. The university is yet to find a way to successfully recruit, admit, retain, and graduate more Black students; in order to do so, it seems the university must focus its efforts, within limits defined by the law, specifically upon doing so. Focusing on effective student success initiatives, improving campus climate, and community engagement efforts to facilitate diverse student access to the university may prove fruitful into the future.

Promoting Student Success Initiatives

The Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement leads the diversity efforts on the UCB campus (ODECE, n.d.a). Though their Website doesn't necessarily highlight the entirety of practices put into place to promote diversity on the campus, ODECE has chosen to publicize those efforts associated with student success, campus climate, and community engagement. Chapter V discusses some of the student success initiatives that have proven to make a positive impact on college campuses across the country, as well as those initiatives that have been and are being successfully implemented on the University of Colorado Boulder campus. Because the US system of education has not been readily accessible nor provided all students with the opportunity to increase their earning potential throughout its history, in recent years research has focused upon evaluating the success of underrepresented students on college and university campuses across the country. Today, the success of students enrolled in post-secondary endeavors is measured by retention, transfer, and graduation rates (Moore &

Shulock, 2009). Successful diversity programs focus on the outcomes of underrepresented students because graduation from institutions of higher education is associated with economic, institutional, and personal benefits.

Fostering College Student Success

College readiness and academic preparedness of students graduating from high school have been found to greatly impact the college retention and graduation rates of all students and underrepresented students in particular (D’Amico et al., 2011). In response to the research linking college success to academic preparedness, Colorado has joined the Core to College multi-state grant initiative which is “designed to promote strong collaboration between higher education and the K-12 sectors in the implementation of the Common Core State Standards and aligned assessments” (Council of Chief State School Officers, 2012, p. 4). As summarized in the study, the purpose of the Common Core State Standards is to provide all students with a high quality education, to establish clear expectations about what students need to learn to have the opportunity to succeed in college and in a career, and to clarify the standards of success in every school. Beyond simply exposing students to a specified curriculum, effective classrooms and teachers have been found to contribute to the success of students across all levels of the education system.

Positive classroom experiences and the role of engaging professors have proven pivotal in contributing to the success of students in college, above all students of color. Characteristics associated with these classroom experiences have been identified and implemented on college campuses and include (a) setting expectations for students, (b) providing students with support, (c) utilizing new assessment techniques to provide

students with feedback regarding their progress, and (d) providing students with opportunities to get involved in all aspects of campus life (Astin, 1999; Tinto, 2008, 2011). Beyond classroom experiences, research has also shown that underrepresented students who make social and academic connections on college campuses tend to persist and find success in their respective institutions of higher education (Astin, 1999; Swail et al., 2003; Tinto, 2011). Learning and living communities have emerged as a positive means for students to connect both inside and outside of the classroom and engage with all aspects of campus life, including academic and personal/social realms. Learning communities promote relationships with other students and faculty members, as well. Relationships with faculty members have been found to positively impact the success rates of African American students in particular (Astin, 1999; Swail et al., 2003; Tinto 2011).

Efforts to incorporate the positive attributes associated with the success of students on college and university campuses as highlighted through research have been made at UCB through the creation of several programs targeting first-generation and students of color. A variety of these programs are discussed in detail in Chapter V. Though UCB certainly has room to expand access to, and maintenance of, diverse students on campus, Boulder's retention rates are higher than those of the other University of Colorado schools (Colorado Springs and Denver), and the six-year graduation rate of these students at UCB is also higher than those reported by UCCS and UCD. Of course, much room still exists for improvement and UCB hopes to reach their goal of increasing the six-year graduation rate of all first-year, full-time students to 71% from 66.8% by 2015. Beyond the classroom environment and getting involved on

campus, student success rates have been found to be greatly impacted by campus climate, particularly for students of color.

The Impact of Campus Climate

The role of campus climate is described in Chapter VI. Research focused upon climate issues has revealed that one of the explanations for differences in the college success rates of minority and White students is related to differences in their perceptions of a discriminatory campus climate (Cabrera et al., 1999). Research on perceptions of discrimination on campus climate revealed that all students, White and minority, perceive racial discrimination on college campuses and are greatly impacted by their perceptions (Cabrera et al., 1999). However, stressors associated with discriminatory campus climates have been found to be present only among minority students, and these stressors have proven to have a negative impact on academic performance (Cabrera et al., 1999; Cureton, 2003). Additional research analyzing the connection between student perceptions of campus climate and the impact of such perceptions on student success is needed to promote greater understanding of the role of campus climate and student success. Campus specific research studies focused on assessing the perceptions and attitudes of students in regard to campus climate may prove fruitful as efforts to promote student success continue into the future. Future campus climate surveys at UCB should focus on assessing the attitudes of all students in regard to the presence of minorities in general and on Boulder's campus. In particular, these surveys should assess attitudes regarding minority access and retention. And, further examination of employment and retention of faculty of color may reveal something about the success of diversity efforts on campus.

As discussed in Chapter VI, campus climate surveys are one tool that has been utilized to conduct this type of research and UCB has conducted several of these surveys throughout its history. Results of a survey in 1969 highlighted student concerns with institutional racism, while results of the most recent climate survey conducted in 2010 on the UCB campus reflected a relatively positive view of the campus climate. However, consistent with the findings of targeted research in regard to campus climate (Cress, 2008), African-American students, and students with psychological and physical disabilities, rated the campus climate lower than other student groups at UCB. Generally, students valued diversity on the campus and believed that diversity efforts should continue to be a high priority on the Boulder campus. Compared to 2001 and 2006, students in 2010 reported the Boulder community, campus administrators and staff valued diversity at higher levels, while course instructors, other students, and student government appeared to value diversity at lower levels than in previous years. While drawing attention to perceived shortcomings of campus climate by minority groups, overall the results of the climate surveys conducted on Boulder's campus throughout the 2000s have shown positive trends.

Though campus climate survey results throughout the 2000s have been relatively positive across student groups at UCB, news headlines in Boulder's *Daily Camera* provide further insight into the struggle of minority students on campus. In March of 2012, "a group of more than 100 protestors... rallied outside of Chancellor Phil DiStefano's office in an attempt to draw attention to diversity issues and the university's 'lack of action'" (Bryen). The "Declaration of Human Rights", a list of 18 demands presented to CU administrators during the protest, "included mandatory 'anti-oppression

training for students, faculty and staff, adding students to the Board of Regents and the Boulder Campus Planning Commission, and agreeing not to raise tuition” (Bryen, 2012). Campus administrators did respond to the student demands via email and “asked the protestors to appoint a group of 10 or so representatives to begin working more directly with the university” (Bryen, 2012). The group of protestors included leaders of various groups who had worked closely with administrators in the past “on diversity and campus issues” (Bryen, 2012). Campus spokesperson, Bronson Hilliard, indicated the university was already “evaluating and improving diversity programs” (Bryen, 2012).

As UCB conducts similar surveys into the future and analyzes areas of need, investing in campus-wide and community efforts to positively impact the campus climate, while paying attention to the specific concerns of historically underrepresented students on campus, seem necessary.

Embracing Community Engagement Efforts

Community engagement efforts led by college students, faculty, and staff have emerged as one way to positively impact campus climate. At UCB, the Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement has taken on the role of creating and promoting community engagement efforts (see Chapter VII). As advertised on the ODECE Webpage, community engagement events already taking place at UCB include monthly community dinners and a yearly MLK celebration. The University also hosts an annual Diversity and Inclusion Summit that takes place each fall. Similar to other research universities, community engagement efforts at UCB continue to lag behind those implemented at other types of institutions of higher education. Supported by Chancellor DiStefano and promoted by the Faculty Task Force, Flagship 2030 focuses upon

propelling UCB forward, creating a new model of undergraduate education to better prepare students to make contributions to an ever changing world. This plan includes the promotion of campus-community engagement efforts and emphasizes diverse, experiential learning opportunities, linking practice and research with action-focused scholarship, and increasing the quality and quantity of graduate programs. If the recommendations outlined in Flagship 2030 are realized, in 18 years Boulder should reflect the diversity of the Colorado state population. Through community engagement and research efforts specified in Flagship 2030, the University aims to make positive contributions to the world at large; in 2030, the success of Flagship 2030 may be measured by the impact UCB has made. Regular research measuring the success of the Flagship 2030 plan, the diversity of the University campus, the success of undergraduate and graduate students, and the impact of community engagement efforts will be needed for years to come as the changes outlined in the Flagship plan are put into action. In 18 years, what will UCB look like and what impact will UCB make in the state of Colorado, across the US, and across the world?

Creating a Diverse Campus

Diversity programs on college campuses are created in order to embrace and enhance the experiences of minority and majority students, reducing the “natural” segregation of students different from one another (Muthuswamy et al., 2006). As Supreme Court decisions and state legislation have moved away from supporting the use of race-conscious education policies, colleges and universities have promoted and emphasized the vital role diversity plays in the shrinking world today. In essence, diversity has been utilized to continue difficult discussions about the permanence of

racism throughout communities and states in the US. In 2003, the Supreme Court stated “Diversity is a compelling interest” (Gurin et al., 2004, p. 2). Campuses across the US seem to struggle with achieving desired levels of campus diversity and are more open to incorporating all levels of the college or university in such efforts (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007, p. 42). Data presented in this dissertation provide evidence of the struggle the University of Colorado Boulder has faced to attract, retain, and graduate a diverse student body throughout its history.

Since 1998, with the opening of the Office of Diversity, Equity, and Community Engagement, UCB has seemingly become more focused than in prior years upon building and fostering a diverse campus community. In 1999, *A Blueprint for Action*, UCB’s first diversity plan was published and disseminated. This plan and yearly diversity reports since 2000, reports to the regents, diversity statistics, status of women reports, and a disability services report are available for public perusal on the ODECE Website. Research has shown it is not necessary to re-create diversity plans each year but leaders should focus instead upon the shortcomings and successes of each diversity initiative and program (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). As documented in yearly diversity reports, UCB has worked to focus upon the shortcomings and successes of the diversity initiatives and programs already in place on campus, and administrators and leaders continue to work toward achieving the original diversity goals outlined in *A Blueprint for Action* (1999). Since 1999, work to revamp and revise the original diversity plan continued with the President’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Diversity meeting in 2006, and with the more recent adoption of the *Flagship 2030 Strategic Plan* by the University’s Board of Regents in 2007.

Though creating a diverse campus was certainly the goal highlighted in *A Blueprint for Action*, reconfirmed in 2006 by the President's Blue Ribbon Commission, and again in *Flagship 2030* in 2007, the rhetoric contained within each of these documents has not readily impacted the number of minority students on UCB's campus. Reflecting upon this reality, the lack of connection witnessed between words and action in regard to increasing diverse student access to the university after the adoption of *A Blueprint for Action* in 1999 and the President's Commission in 2006, it seems apparent that leaders at UCB need to transform their rhetoric into measurable action. Unfortunately, the university has seemingly not learned from the past as witnessed by the newest plan, *Flagship 2030*, which appears to include few new strategies to improve diversity at the University of Colorado Boulder.

As presented in Chapter VIII, some potentially successful diversity initiatives and programs already exist on the campus, but leaders need to focus upon the outcomes of these diversity efforts to measure their success (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). *Flagship 2030* does seem focused upon student outcomes but the success of the established diversity initiatives and programs on campus need to be evaluated continuously over time; undoubtedly, UCB administrators are accountable to do so. As UCB strives to become a diverse Research I institution, campus leaders need to be deliberate about ensuring that the rhetoric included in *Flagship 2030* is turned into feasible action plans and take appropriate steps to ensure its implementation. Through deliberate and purposeful action, which includes establishing measurable diversity goals and developing the means through which the diversity goals can be attained, it may be possible for UCB leaders to work through the existing diversity initiatives and programs

on campus to foster a supportive and inclusive climate intended for all. The first step to fostering this supportive and inclusive climate is to encourage qualified underrepresented students to apply and enroll at UCB. It is not enough to enroll more and more international students to achieve diversity on campus; instead, UCB should focus upon recruiting, enrolling, retaining and graduating Black students who have been most underrepresented on campus, both historically and presently.

Expanding Educational Opportunity in Colorado for Underrepresented and Low-Income Students

Chapter IX of this dissertation discusses other factors impacting the college success rates of students of color. Though beyond the scope of the research presented in this study, the funding equation is a major part of any discussion related to the likelihood of students choosing to pursue a college degree. In Colorado, legislative approval to change the tuition structure of public colleges and universities to allow undocumented students who have earned a high school diploma in the state to pay a rate of tuition that is less than the out-of-state rate has surfaced seven times in the past decade, presented again in 2012 as Senate Bill 12-015 and known as the “ASSET” bill (Suthers, 2012). In the spring of 2012, the ASSET bill garnered the support of institutions of higher education across the state and from the Lieutenant Governor but failed to pass in the General Assembly (Suthers, 2012).

During the Fall of 2012, in light of the failure for the ASSET bill to gain ground and garner legislative support the past six times it was introduced, Metropolitan State University introduced its own tuition rate for illegal-immigrant students, sparking a great deal of controversy. Fully supported by the university’s board of trustees and pushed forward by Metro President Steve Jordan, the proposed tuition rate for students who

qualify is \$3,358.30 which is 150% of the rate in-state students pay and includes a 10% fee for capital contributions (Cotton, 2012). Sparking the controversy associated with this bold move by an institution of higher education, Colorado's Attorney General John Suthers classified this discounted tuition rate as a public benefit, and as such he stated, "a single institution, such as Metro State, cannot unilaterally create a new tuition classification system. . . without legislative approval" (Suthers, 2012, p. 8).

In July 2012, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) offered a counter-opinion to that issued by Colorado's Attorney General, upholding the legality of Metro's discounted tuition rate. Basing their opinion upon the definition of a public benefit, the CRS (2012) found that because enrollment at a public college or university is not in itself a public benefit, "under this reasoning, states may allow unauthorized aliens to enroll in state institutions of higher education, while paying out-of-state tuition, without enacting legislation to expressly authorize this" (p. 5). In light of recent developments with ASSET Bill 13-033, other colleges and universities throughout the state of Colorado are unlikely to face the same scrutiny in the future. On January 24, 2013, the Colorado State Senate Education committee passed Colorado ASSET Senate Bill 13-033 on a bi-partisan vote (Higher Education Action Alliance, n.d.). With Democrats back in charge of both houses in the legislature, the legislation has passed both houses and awaits the Governor's signature (Hoover, 2013). Colorado ASSET will allow all qualified high school graduates to attend a Colorado college or university at the in-state tuition rate (Colorado Asset, 2013). Such legislation is expected to lead to increased diversity on college and university campuses across the state and positively impact Colorado's economic recovery well into the future (Colorado Asset, 2013).

UCB saw a large increase of Hispanic students in 2012's freshman class and it will be interesting to track this enrollment trend into the future as Colorado ASSET will provide a means for historically underrepresented students to access higher education across Colorado. As the ASSET policy is implemented, research surrounding its success in providing opportunities for higher education to a more diverse group of students, including those students who choose to enroll at the University of Colorado Boulder, will be needed and efforts to measure the impact of the ASSET bill should be led by policymakers, colleges, and universities across the state.

Metropolitan State University (Metro, MSU) in 2012 was willing to take a risk to provide an opportunity for underrepresented students regardless of legislative support. CRS (2012) supported this decision and determined that Metro had not violated any law by implementing the new tuition structure. MSU's leadership serves as a model to other colleges and universities that wish to expand educational opportunity to historically underrepresented groups of students. In light of UCB's relatively unsuccessful history in promoting diversity on campus, it will be interesting to see how President Benson and Chancellor DiStefano, and their eventual successors, lead the university into the future. What risks are they willing to take to promote opportunities for underrepresented students to access and succeed at UCB? Will UCB lead diversity efforts on college and university campuses across Colorado or stand by and follow the lead of others, or wait for state legislation to pave the path? Undoubtedly, there will be ample opportunity for UCB to act bravely and take risks into the future as higher education itself seems unsustainable if the system continues to operate "as is", particularly in terms of issues with funding public systems of education at all levels.

Race Does Matter

In the introduction of this dissertation, I observed that “perhaps what I have always known and recognized as I worked with thousands of students is that race does matter.” Ultimately, through this dissertation what I hoped to convey to interested stakeholders is how race matters both historically and presently in shaping discussions about education, particularly in the realm of higher education, within the state of Colorado, and specifically at the University of Colorado Boulder. Because much of my professional experience has revolved around working with minority students, I have come to understand that factors associated with race must be analyzed on a deeper level. I have also learned that it is not possible to explore issues associated with racism in educational settings such as unfair discipline policies, the marginalization of students of color, and the low high school and college success rates of minority students without considering our country’s historical relationship with race. The permanence of racism suggests a need to uncover this historical relationship to provide educational stakeholders with a better perspective of how we can move forward and provide all students with the opportunity to succeed.

History Leads to Insight

Utilizing historical methods to guide this research, my goal for this dissertation was to examine the history of diverse student access to the University of Colorado Boulder to gain a deeper understanding of the historical and present-day issues surrounding minority student access to the University. As a result, my intention was to provide interested parties and educational stakeholders with a better understanding and appreciation for the development and evolution of the university in light of the complex

issues surrounding discussions about the persistence of racial inequities that still pose challenges to colleges and universities across the country. My hope for this study was to contribute to the expanding field of research on race, diversity, and the role of educational policy in higher education as educational stakeholders make efforts to improve and ensure equal and equitable access to post-secondary institutions across the country for all racial minority group members.

The Problem Continues

Data presented throughout this dissertation indicate that students of color continue to be underrepresented at colleges and universities across the country, including at the University of Colorado Boulder. Though UCB has made gains since opening its doors to the first class of students in the fall of 1877, the abundance of rhetoric surrounding diversity accompanied by the very slow pace of change in the access of diverse students to the campus should attract the attention of campus leaders, staff, faculty, students, and the surrounding community. If underrepresentation of students of color is continually identified as a problem in higher education, and in this instance at UCB, ignoring the race/ethnicity of students applying for admission is unlikely to combat the problem, if only because of inertia. Recognition of race and the many barriers that have surrounded race throughout our nation's—and Colorado's—history is necessary for the problem to be rectified in the future.

Hopes for Progress

In 1984, Regent Noel stated, "I hope in 1994 a report like this will not ever have to be written" (p. 511). Ironically, since *A Blueprint for Action* was adopted as the university's first diversity plan in 1999, yearly diversity reports written by universities

across the state, as well as statewide reports about The Colorado Paradox continue to draw attention to the high school to college graduation gap, the success rates of minority students in college continue to lag behind those of White and Asian students, and UCB continues to struggle to attract, retain, and graduate students of color. My hope is that in 2030, the *Flagship 2030* plan detailed by UCB will have proven successful in rectifying the historical and contemporary situation, but actions need to be taken to ensure this outcome.

Conscious, Concerted Efforts Essential

Race-conscious policies are better than race-neutral policies in isolating and rectifying discriminatory practices that can be readily identified throughout the history of the United States (Chang, 1999). Seemingly, in order to rectify a problem, one must pinpoint exactly what the problem is in order to identify potential solutions. Chang (1999) identifies the traditional purpose of institutions of higher education: “to preserve, transmit, and discover knowledge” (p. 5). As such, diversity is unimportant if knowledge is viewed as static and absolute, but diversity becomes ever more important if the goal of colleges, universities, and workplaces is to discover new knowledge (p. 5). Clearly, UCB’s goal as a Research I institution is to discover new knowledge and positively impact our world. Thus the academy, whether the University of Colorado Boulder or the University of California Berkeley, needs to take a more active role in discussions surrounding race in higher education, and transform these discussions into action plans that result in the successful recruitment, retention, and graduation of diverse students (Chang, 1999). Unfortunately, “the academy has been surprisingly silent in the court battles and national dialogs regarding affirmative action that are taking place around the

country” (Chang, 1999, p. 6). In order to make a difference, it is necessary for colleges and universities to make a stand and get involved as the underrepresentation of students of color persists into the twenty-first century; ignoring the reality of the relevance of race in higher education discussions will not lead to the disappearance of racial barriers that have been constructed throughout our country’s history.

Leading to the Future

Colleges and universities can serve as leaders to make the case as “proxies for race continue to fail to address current disparities that were historically created by race and racial practices” (Chang, 1999, p. 4). With the Supreme Court decision looming in the case of *Fisher v. Texas* (n.d.), post-secondary institutions continue to grapple with the role race has played and continues to play in education. The decision in this case may or may not transform the use of race-conscious educational policies into the future.

Next Steps and Future Research

As a first-step study, this dissertation provides a platform from which colleges and universities in Colorado and perhaps throughout the US can work to address the questions I asked here: (a) What is the history of access of minority students to the University of _____ (Insert name here)? and (b) How have questions about race, diversity, and the development of relevant educational policies affected diverse student access at _____ since the beginning of court-ordered desegregation of schools issued in *Brown* in 1954 through the present day? The answers to these questions may begin to lead those invested in the education of all of our young people in the direction to find new solutions to old problems. Undoubtedly, several solutions, beyond affirmative

action, exist and it is in our best interest as a community, a state, a nation, and a world to discover them as quickly as possible.

New solutions to address this particular issue need to be examined well into the future. Among students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds, how will UCB attract a critical mass of African American students, among other diverse student groups, and work to ensure their success in the future? In the current study, my examination of historical sources was unable to provide a complete perspective because the voices of the underrepresented were not documented or included, particularly in the documents maintained in the university's archives. As a next-step for the University of Colorado Boulder, energies must be expended to ensure that *Flagship 2030* succeeds so that the university and its many diverse students succeed as well.

APPENDIX A

CCHE Admissions Index, Effective Fall 2008 (CCHE, 2008)

		SAT	400	500	550	610	680	750	800	840	880	930	970	1010	1050	1080	1120	1160	1200	1240	1280	1310	1350	1400	1440	1490	1550	
			490	540	600	680	740	790	830	870	920	960	1000	1040	1070	1110	1150	1190	1230	1270	1300	1340	1380	1430	1480	1540	1590	1600
		ACT	<12	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
% H.S. Rank	H.S. GPA																											
0-1	0-1.3	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	68	70	72	74	76	78	80	82	84	86	88	90	93	95	97	
2-3	1.4-1.5	49	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	67	69	72	74	76	78	80	82	84	86	88	90	92	94	97	99	101	
4	1.6	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	67	69	71	74	76	78	80	82	84	86	88	90	92	94	96	99	101	103	
5-6	1.7	52	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	75	77	79	81	83	85	87	89	91	93	95	97	100	102	104	
7-8	1.8	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	74	77	79	81	83	85	87	89	91	93	95	97	99	102	104	106	
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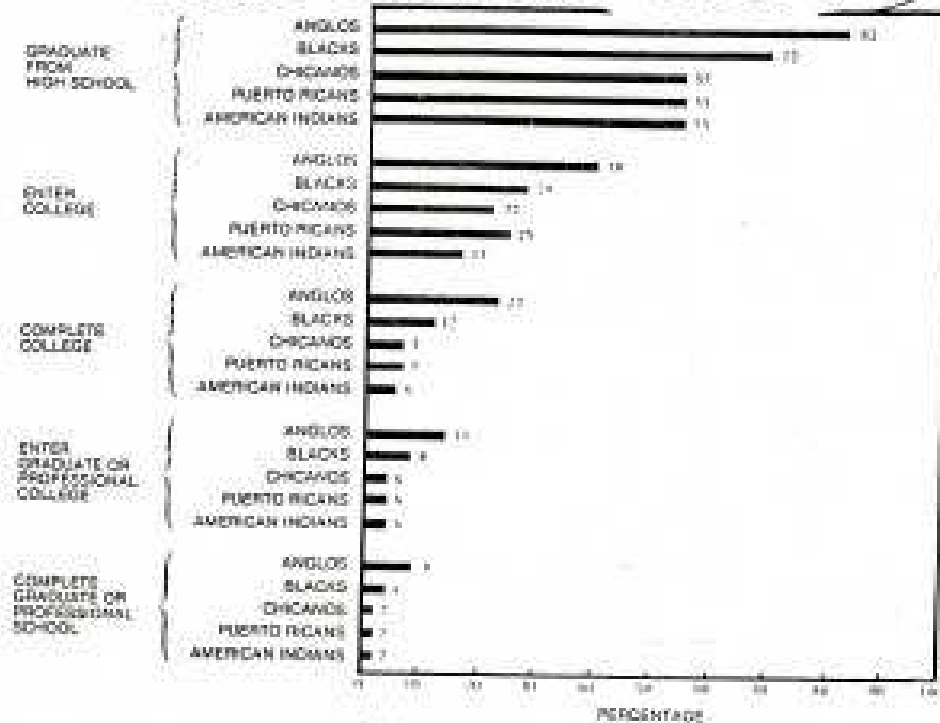
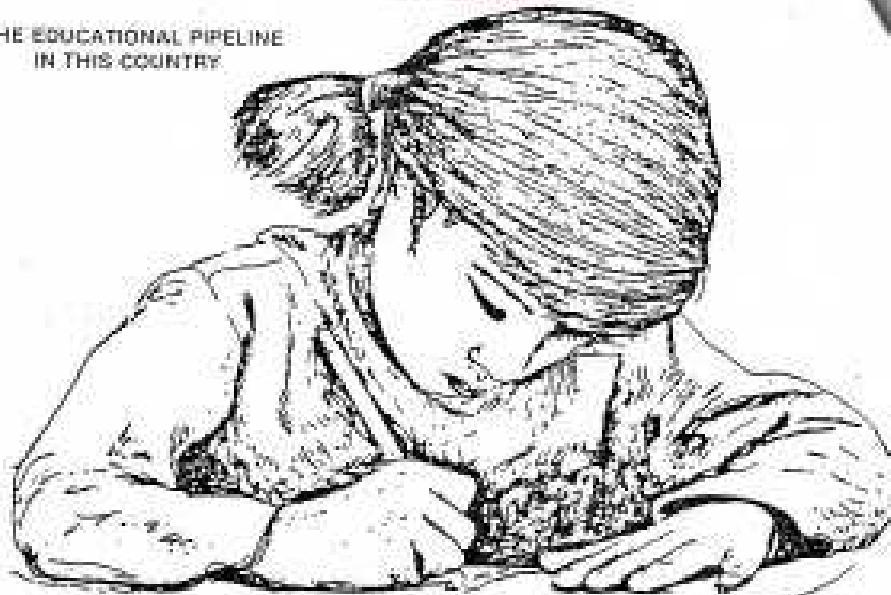
APPENDIX B

The Educational Pipeline in this Country (Astin, 1982)

Attachment 10
8 of 8

Archives
University of Colorado
at Boulder Libraries

THE EDUCATIONAL PIPELINE IN THIS COUNTRY



SOURCE: Alexander Astin, *Minorities in American Higher Education* (Jolley-Bass, 1982 San Francisco, CA)

APPENDIX C

Blueprint for Action Key Points

(A Blueprint for Action, 1999, pp. 9-23)

GOAL 1: Climate for Living, Learning and Working

We are committed to fostering a campus environment of inclusion, knowledge and understanding in which faculty, staff and students learn to value diversity and to respect the individual differences that enrich the University community.

Goal 1.A.: Campus Environment — Continue to build and maintain a campus environment that is inclusive, safe and respectful for all people.

Key Strategies:

1.A.1

- Establish or enhance systems for generating feedback from students, faculty and staff about the status of campus climate; utilize survey information in formulating future strategies. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Directors, Director of Institutional Analysis and other designees)

1.A.2

- Identify practices or policies that may have negative impacts or create barriers for particular populations; develop coordinated strategies for addressing any issues identified. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Directors and other designees)

1.A.3

- Enhance participation in the campus's Campaign for Building Community, training programs, and other strategies such as diversity forums, information exchange, arts programs and community partnerships that enhance the campus climate for all students. Progress report: December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and other designees)

1.A.4

- Engage all students, faculty and staff in building a positive and supportive academic community. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor, Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

1.A.5

- Develop and implement policies and procedures that address general harassment and discrimination issues, including strategies for responding to bias-motivated acts. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor, Chancellor's Executive Committee, Bias-Motivated Incidents Response Group and other designees)

1.A.6

- Continue to enhance core services for students with disabilities, including assistive

11

technology, interpreting services and learning needs assistance. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor, Vice Chancellors, Director of Disability Services and other designees)

1.A.7

- Increase awareness by faculty and staff regarding the needs of students with disabilities; set specific responsibilities and expectations for the enhancement of campus services and programs, including classroom experiences. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Disability Services, Vice Chancellors and other designees)

1.A.8

- Broaden the concept of diversity to include services for nontraditional students and immediate families of students in order to develop a more inclusive climate on campus. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Director of Housing and other designees)

1.A.9

- Review and broaden the orientation for new faculty, staff and students to include cultural norms, climate, services, resources and other diversity-oriented topics. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Director of Human Resources and other designees)

1.A.10

- Review and enhance diversity training programs designed for faculty and staff; increase participation in training programs as educational tools for improving campus climate. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Director of Human Resources and other designees)

1.A.11

- Enhance residence hall diversity programs to increase participation by students. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Housing and other designees)

1.A.12

- Improve services provided by campus centers to help meet the special needs of students from underrepresented groups. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, Center Directors and other designees)

1.A.13

- Promote broader participation in Community Speak-Outs and other open forums for students and the campus community to discuss diversity issues. Progress report:

12

December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and other designees)

Goal 1.B.: Learning Experiences for Diversity — Provide increased opportunities for enhanced awareness of multicultural issues and foster an appreciation of the full range of human experience among students, faculty and staff.

Key Strategies:

1.B.1

- Expand student participation in programs that provide strong academic support and sense of community (e.g. Pre-Collegiate Development, Student Academic Services Center, Academic Access Institute, Minority Arts and Sciences Program [MASP], Multicultural Business Students Association, Success in Engineering through Excellence and Diversity [SEED], Women in Engineering, and Upward Bound). Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department

Chairs, Directors and other designees)

1.B.2

- Increase support for improved teaching about diversity and for teaching an increasingly diverse student body through such programs as the Faculty Teaching Excellence Program (FTEP). Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Associate Vice Chancellor for Faculty Affairs, Department Chairs, Director of FTEP and other designees)

1.B.3

- Increase opportunities for gaining knowledge and understanding of the unique history and perspectives of underrepresented groups, including curricular enhancements and extracurricular programming, to improve the overall education experience. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

1.B.4

- Encourage broader participation in diversity-related academic courses at CU-Boulder to help improve multicultural understanding. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

1.B.5

- Promote and increase opportunities for Study Abroad experiences by students, including economically disadvantaged students and members of underrepresented

13 groups. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Study Abroad, Director of Financial Aid and other designees)

1.B.6

- Encourage governance organizations for faculty, staff and undergraduate and graduate students to develop specific strategies for supporting diversity initiatives. Progress report: December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor's Executive Committee and other designees)

Goal 2: Student Access and Opportunity

We are committed to ensuring equal access and opportunity for a quality education at the University of Colorado at Boulder among all Colorado students, including members of racial/ethnic groups traditionally underrepresented in higher education.

Goal 2.A.: Undergraduate Degrees Awarded -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of bachelor's degrees earned by Colorado students of color. Success in achieving this goal will depend particularly on achieving both Goals 2.A.1 and 2.A.3. (The total number of degrees for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 434.)

Contributing Goals:

Goal 2.A.1: New Students -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of Colorado students of color who enter CU-Boulder as freshmen or transfers, while increasing the graduation rate as in Goal 2.A.3. (The total for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 596.)

Goal 2.A.2: Retention Rates -- Continue to enhance the first-year retention rate for resident freshmen of color. (The rate for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 79%.)

Goal 2.A.3: Graduation Rates -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the graduation

rates of resident freshmen of color, while increasing the number of new students as in Goal 2.A.1. (The rate for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 46%.)

Key Strategies:

2.A.1

- By racial/ethnic group, analyze numerical and percentage trends in degrees awarded, graduation and retention rates, applications, admission and yield rates, and number of 14

new students. Revise specific strategies as needed to reach campus goals. Progress report: December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Vice Chancellor for Students Affairs, Deans, Director of Institutional Analysis and other designees)

2.A.2

- Engage student body to assist with recruitment of students of color and to contribute to retention through community and academic support. Progress report: December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, UCSU leadership and other designees)

2.A.3

- Develop and/or enhance highly focused recruitment strategies aimed at Colorado high school students of color, including such initiatives as:

- * Expanding participation in and services offered by the CU Pre-Collegiate Program

- * Expanding use of the campus' Denver Office of Admissions to serve students in Denver metro area

- * Building productive partnerships with key Colorado high schools that have high concentrations of students of color

- * Coordinating outreach programs targeting communities of color

- * Expanding participation in summer programs on campus, targeting students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds

- * Increasing participation in the Admissions Office's program for linking CU Boulder minority students as mentors to minority students in the Denver Public Schools

- *Progress Report: May 2000 (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Executive Director of Enrollment Management, Director of Admissions and other designees)

2.A.4

- Build partnerships with community colleges aimed at attracting transfer students of color to CU-Boulder, as well as easing the transition between colleges. Progress Report: May 2000 (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, 15

Executive Director of Enrollment Management, Director of Admissions, Deans and other designees)

2.A.5

- Increase financial aid to make a CU-Boulder education more attainable for more students; improve understanding among minority communities about availability of financial aid programs and the need for early financial planning. Streamline financial aid procedures for all students. Progress Report: May 2000 (Strategy Leaders: Vice

Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Executive Director of Enrollment Management, Director of Financial Aid, Chancellor's Executive Committee and other designees)

2.A.6

- Expand participation in and enhance success rates of the SEED and Women in Engineering programs in engineering, the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program (UROP), the MASP program in Arts and Sciences, and the Multicultural Business Students Association. Examine potential for replicating these successful programs in other areas of the campus. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity, Program Directors, and other designees)

2.A.7

- Expand academic support services provided by the Academic Access Institute to extend services beyond the freshman year. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

2.A.8

- Establish and coordinate K-12 outreach efforts from throughout the campus, with special focus on earlier levels of education, to enhance partnerships with the schools. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity, Executive Director of Institutional Relations and other designees)

2.A.9

- Increase small-class experiences for all students, including members of underrepresented groups, to help build a sense of community and to enhance learning. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

2.A.10

- Establish specific strategies by each school and college for increasing the number of degrees earned by Colorado students of color; monitor and report progress annually.

16

Progress report: December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

2.A.11

- Extend current networks of staff, faculty and administrators who can support and advise students of color toward achievement of academic success. Progress report: December 1999. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, Department Chairs, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

2.A.12

- Establish or enhance a set of core services by each school/college and division aimed at increasing success rates of students from underrepresented groups. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Program Directors and other designees)

2.A.13

- Extend and enhance "Parents as Partners" programs for parents of students of color to

establish closer ties among parents, students and the University; involve alumni of color in outreach efforts. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and other designees)

2.A.14

- Enhance outreach efforts by Norlin Scholars Program to attract more students of color to CU-Boulder. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Director of Norlin Scholars and other designees)

Goal 2.B: Graduate Degrees Awarded -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of graduate degrees (including master's, law and doctoral degrees) earned by all students of color. (The total for the 1997-98 baseline reporting year was 171.)

Contributing Goal:

Goal 2.B.1: New Graduate Students -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of new graduate-level (including master's, law and doctoral) students of color. (The total for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 174.)

Key Strategies:

17

2.B.1

- By racial/ethnic group, analyze trends in the numbers and percentages of graduate degrees awarded, applications, admission and yield rates, and number of new graduate students. Implement specific strategies as needed to reach campus goals. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Graduate Dean, other Deans, Director of Institutional Analysis and other designees)

2.B.2

- Enhance recruitment strategies aimed at prospective graduate students of color, including establishing positive relationships with other Colorado institutions, utilizing alumni groups in recruitment, and enhancing faculty contact with prospective graduate students of color. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Graduate Dean, other Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

2.B.3

- Seek enhanced funding for graduate student fellowships. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Graduate Dean and other designees)

2.B.4

- Expand participation in diversity programs, such as the campus's SMART (Summer Multicultural Access to Research Training) and McNair programs, to encourage students of color and women to consider graduate study, emphasizing opportunities at CU-Boulder. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Graduate Dean, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

2.B.5

- Establish effective mentoring programs for advising and supporting graduate students of color, aimed at increasing success rates. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

2.B.6

- Develop partnerships with United Government of Graduate Students (UGGS) for enhancing recruitment and retention of graduate students. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Graduate Dean, UGGS Leadership and other designees)

2.B.7

- Enhance career placement services for all graduate students, including those from underrepresented groups, to help improve recruitment and retention. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Graduate Dean 18 and other designees)

Goal 3: Diverse Faculty and Staff

We are committed to building and maintaining a diverse community of faculty and staff that reflects a broad range of racial/ethnic groups, cultures, perspectives, and gender.

Goal 3.A : Faculty of Color -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of tenured and tenure-track faculty of color. (The total for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 123.)

Key Strategies:

3.A.1

- Establish strategies and implementation plans by schools and colleges for increasing the number of tenured and tenure-track faculty of color; monitor and report progress annually. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.A.2

- Engage faculty of color in successful recruitment and professional development efforts to aid in attracting and retaining diverse faculty. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

3.A.3

- Enhance support for the Special Opportunities Program in the Division of Academic Affairs to help broaden faculty diversity. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Chairs and other designees)

3.A.4

- Integrate diversity expectations into the Program Review Process for primary units. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor, Vice Chancellors and other designees)

3.A.5

- Encourage enhanced professional development opportunities for all faculty, including faculty of color. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Associate Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

19

3.A.6

- Improve communication and understanding about recent changes in tenure procedures that offer broader criteria in research, teaching and service to enhance opportunities

for all faculty. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Associate Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.A.7

- Enhance mentoring programs for tenure-track faculty. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.A.8

- Continue and enhance first-, third-, and sixth-year preparation workshops on tenure processes and expectations. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.A.9

- Continue to develop an exit interview process to identify opportunities for improvement in retention of faculty of color, in addition to identifying other issues. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Associate Vice Chancellor for Faculty Affairs and other designees)

3.A.10

- Collect data on faculty of color from public Research I institutions (CU-Boulder's peer group) for use in establishing benchmarks. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Institutional Analysis and other designees)

3.A.11

- Increase IMPART research grant funding to expand research opportunities for diverse faculty. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Associate Vice Chancellor for Faculty Affairs and other designees)

3.A.12

- Explore potential for new "grow-your-own" programs aimed at attracting prospective faculty of color to the Boulder campus. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

Goal 3.B: Women Faculty -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of 20

female tenured and tenure-track faculty, especially in disciplines where women currently are underrepresented. (The total for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 271.)

Key Strategies:

3.B.1

- Establish strategies and implementation plans at the departmental and school/college levels for increasing the number of women faculty; monitor by faculty level. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.B.2

- Engage women faculty in successful recruitment and professional development efforts to aid in attracting and retaining diverse faculty. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

3.B.3

- Enhance support for the Special Opportunities Program in the Division of Academic Affairs to help broaden faculty diversity. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Chancellor, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Deans, Chairs and other

designees)

3.B.4

- Review starting salaries for new faculty to identify any gaps related to gender; develop strategies for addressing any gender-related variances. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Associate Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.B.5

- Develop exit interview process to identify opportunities for improved retention of women faculty, in addition to identifying other issues. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.B.6

- Collect data on women faculty from public Research I institutions (CU-Boulder's peer group) for use in establishing benchmarks. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Director of Institutional Analysis, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.B.7

- Explore potential for new "grow-your-own" programs aimed at attracting prospective women faculty to the Boulder campus. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

21

Goal 3.C: Administrators of Color -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of officers of color and professional exempt staff of color. (The total for the baseline reporting year was 72.)

Key Strategies:

3.C.1

- Develop specific strategies by schools, colleges and divisions for increasing administrative staff diversity; monitor progress according to employee group. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

3.C.2

- Engage administrators of color and women administrators in successful recruitment and professional development efforts to aid in attracting and retaining diverse administrative leaders. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

3.C.3

- Examine recruiting practices for officers and professional exempt staff to determine opportunities for enhancing diversity. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Human Resources and other designees)

3.C.4

- Increase professional development opportunities and succession strategies for all staff; provide release time for staff to participate in campus classes, committee work and campus events. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

3.C.5

- Review the hiring methods for administrators and professional exempt staff for

relevance and equity. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Human Resources and other designees)

3.C.6

- Collect comparison data from the Equal Employment Opportunity annual utilization analysis and other external sources for use in establishing benchmarks. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

22

3.C.7

- Develop exit interview process to identify opportunities for improved retention of administrators of color, in addition to identifying other issues. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Human Resources and other designees)

Goal 3.D: Staff Members of Color -- Demonstrate continuing improvement in the number of classified staff members of color in job titles where people of color are currently underrepresented. (The total for the 1998 baseline reporting year was 304.)

Key Strategies:

3.D.1

- Implement high-priority recommendations by the Staff Recruitment Outreach Task Force to attract potential employees from underrepresented communities. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Director of Human Resources and other designees)

3.D.2

- Engage staff members of color in successful recruitment and professional development activities to aid in attracting and retaining a diverse staff. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Human Resources, Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

3.D.3

- Establish specific strategies by schools, colleges and divisions for increasing staff diversity; monitor and report progress according to employee group and paygrade level. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Department Chairs, Directors and other designees)

3.D.4

- Examine state employment processes to determine opportunities for enhancing diversity; recommend needed changes. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellor for Administration, Director of Human Resources and other designees)

3.D.5

- Enhance staff development opportunities and succession strategies to improve upward mobility across the campus; provide release time for staff to participate in campus classes, committee work and campus events. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Director of Human Resources, Directors and other designees)

23

3.D.6

- Extend staff recruitment efforts by building community partnerships and enhancing communication with nontraditional networks. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy

Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Deans, Director of Human Resources, Directors and other designees)

3.D.7

- Review classified staff testing practices for relevance and equity; develop appropriate recommendations for change. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Human Resources and other designees)

3.D.8

- Develop exit interview process to identify opportunities for improved retention of staff of color, in addition to identifying other issues. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Human Resources and other designees)

3.D.9

- Collect comparison data from the Equal Employment Opportunity annual utilization analysis and other external sources for use in establishing benchmarks. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity and other designees)

3.D.10

- Evaluate retention of staff of color by department; establish strategies and implementation plans at both the department and division levels to improve retention where problems are identified. Progress report: May 2000 (Strategy Leaders: Vice Chancellors, Director of Human Resources, Deans, Department Chairs and other designees)

3.D.11

- Coordinate efforts to improve the Work Study experience for students; encourage mentoring of Work Study employees. Progress report: May 2000. (Strategy Leaders: Director of Financial Aid, Director of Human Resources and other designees)

APPENDIX D

2006 Blue Ribbon Commission Committee Recommendations

(<http://www.colorado.edu/odece/about/reports/BlueRibbonReport.html>), Retrieved online 8/2/11

Recommendation 1: Diversity programs appear to contribute to the success rates of the students they serve (retention and graduation rates). These programs should be continued with and receive additional financial support.

Recommendation 2: The University leadership “must express highly public and unequivocal support for diversity and inclusion at the University of Colorado.”

Recommendation 3: “The University of Colorado at Boulder should devise strategies that utilize the “window” for expanding the 103 index [which appears to serve as a barrier for admitting more students of color]. It is unacceptable that there are only 66 African American students out of approximately 5000 new freshmen.”

Recommendation 4: Diversity training for administration, faculty, and staff should be mandatory.

Recommendation 5: Students should also receive mandatory diversity training as they begin at CU and throughout their academic careers.

Recommendation 6: The University of Colorado at Boulder should engage and partner with the surrounding Boulder community to “build bridges to enhance diversity and inclusion”.

Recommendation 7: The Blue Ribbon Commission should stay apprised of progress, or lack thereof, of the Boulder campus as “the recommendations, goals, and accountability measures need to be re-evaluated on a continual basis.”

Recommendation 8: Accountability of administration, faculty, staff and students is necessary as “are better metrics of around evaluation... with respect to funding and finances of the \$1.7 billion dollar system.”

Recommendation 9: The educational pipeline is a K-16 issue. Cultural diversity and tolerance should be infused in K-16 and funding from the legislature should support this effort.

Recommendation 10: The University of Colorado should “benchmark with other institutions and with industry that already have a history of success and lessons learned in areas of diversity”.

APPENDIX E

Flagship 2030 Summary

<div><h1>Flagship 2030</h1><p><i>Serving Colorado, Engaged in the World</i></p></div>	
<h3><i>The Core Initiatives</i></h3> <p><i>We recognize the University of Colorado at Boulder's need to invest in core service areas to remain competitive in the short term, and we have identified a set of priorities for these immediate investments.</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Enhancing Education and Scholarship. Increase the size and enhance the quality of our faculty by adding 500 new tenure-track faculty in the next 10 years; create a new model for undergraduate education to better prepare CU-Boulder students for a changing world.2. Fostering Research Excellence. Support our research mission by increasing institutional funding and research expenditures by 5 percent each year; provide targeted investments in cutting-edge research and creative work.3. Enhancing Graduate Education. Increase the graduate student population from the current 15 percent of total enrollment to 20 percent.4. Ensuring Access. Double merit- and need-based financial aid within five years; initiate a statewide dialogue on expanding access to Colorado higher education.5. Supporting the Mission. Increase the university's staff to support education, research and creative work, service, and operations.6. Investing in the Tools for Success. Increase investments in new technologies, new and existing campus facilities, and library collections.7. Learning for a Diverse World. Implement new strategies for improving diversity; foster a supportive and inclusive climate for all.8. Serving Colorado, the Community, and Our Graduates. Expand outreach programming aimed at Colorado communities; enhance opportunities for lifelong and distance learning.	<h3>Vision</h3> <p>The University of Colorado at Boulder will become a leading model of the "new flagship university" of the 21st century—by redefining learning and discovery in a global context and setting new standards in education, research, scholarship, and creative work that will benefit Colorado and the world.</p>

The Flagship Initiatives

Beyond staying competitive in the short term, our long-term aspirations call for visionary initiatives that will distinguish CU-Boulder among the very best public research universities. We believe our "flagship initiatives" lay a strong foundation for our transformation into the "new flagship" of 2030.



1. Residential Colleges. We intend to build on our successful Residential Academic Programs (RAPs) by creating a new campus-wide emphasis on "residential colleges," offering a multi-year residential academic experience for every entering student.

2. Customized Learning. We will launch the "Colorado Undergraduate Academy" as an ongoing incubator for innovative learning methods and customized learning experiences. The academy will provide mentoring, individualized advising, and career counseling, as well as help attract more of the nation's best-qualified students to the university.

3. Experiential Learning. We will incorporate experiential learning programs more broadly in every student's education. These experiences may include research or creative projects with a professor, study abroad, honors or senior thesis projects, service-learning initiatives, portfolios of creative work, full-time community service projects, or internships.

4. Colorado's Research Diamond. We will initiate a "Colorado research diamond" as a collaborative enterprise among regional universities, businesses, government, and federal laboratories. The research diamond will draw upon existing efforts to develop new technologies, patents, and intellectual properties—and apply them to real-world needs in Colorado and the world.

5. Transcending Traditional Academic Boundaries. We will build upon our excellent record in interdisciplinary research and creative work to become a global leader in ventures that span traditional academic fields. We will strive to be the

6. Building a Global Crossroads. We will establish a "Colorado Center for Global Education, Research, and Advanced Studies" that will bring the world's best thinkers to visit, work, and study at CU-Boulder. The center's competitively selected "Colorado Fellows" will address specific global issues facing government, business, industry, communities, the state, and society at large. In addition, we will expand student and faculty exchanges around the world.

7. Creating University Villages. We will develop a new "university villages" concept to guide plans for the build-out of major university properties. Working in collaboration with community leaders, we propose creating mixed-use, education-related spaces that meet the needs of the university, the community, and the state.

8. Alternative Degree Tracks. We will expand the options for earning University of Colorado at Boulder degrees, providing greater emphasis on the master's degree as a primary track, greater support for students with advanced placement credits, and concurrent bachelor's/PhD degree programs in appropriate disciplines.

9. Year-round Learning. Within the next three years, we will examine changing the university's academic calendar to a three-semester, year-round schedule. This significant change in academic culture would expand learning and research opportunities for both students and faculty—and make better use of our resources, including facilities, personnel, and equipment.

10. Making Enterprise Work. We will seek greater operating flexibility and expanded resources to meet our role and mission.

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